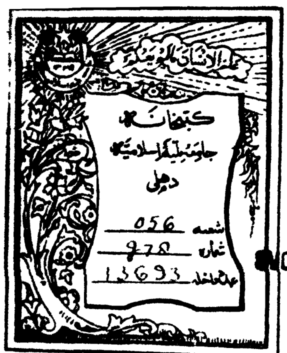


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THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the
Society of Biblical Archaeology

July



1933

July 15

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JULY, 1933

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

PAGE

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PAGE

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1933

PART III.—JULY

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VI: The Tibetan Army

B. Documents (3, Armature; 4, Grades and commissions; 5, Military instructions; 6, Incidents; 7, Personalia; 8, List of Regiments)

BY F. W. THOMAS

(*Concluded from p. 400*)

3. *Armature*

21. M.I. vii, 59 *bis* (wood, c. 18 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r., ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ | . | blon Gtshug bzaṅ . la | ya . lad . stod . | gsum || blon . [A 2] Phya (Dgra ?) . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod . gñis | stag . Gtshug . bzaṅ la [B 1] ya lad . stod . gñis || Guṅ . Rgya . legs la | ya lad st[o]d . gñis | [B 2] blon . Stag . sgra . la . g-[1]ya . lad . stod . gchig || stag . Stag . rtsan . la | ya . lad . stod . gchig | Dpal bžer . la . ya . lad . stod . gchig ||

"To Councillor Gtshug-bzaṅ upper helm-and-corslets three; to Councillor Phya-bžer upper helm-and-corslets two; to Tiger Gtshug-bzaṅ upper helm-and-corslets two; to Guṅ Rgya-legs upper helm-and-corslets two; to Councillor Stag-sgra upper helm-and-corslet one, to Tiger Stag-rtsan upper helm-and-corslet one, to Dpal-bžer upper helm-and-corslet one."

[1] *g* crossed out

Note

Ya-lad is given in the dictionary with the meaning "helm and corslet", "coat of mail" (perhaps in one piece): *stod*, "upper," in this connection may mean "outer", as in *stod-gos*, "overcoat," or "for the upper part of the body". From the document it is evident that such protective armature was usual, at least for persons of rank and "Tigers" ("braves"), cf. Forsyth, *A Mission to Yarkand*, p. 13).

22. M.I., xl, 8 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, slightly curved, hole for string at r., l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | mdah dar.sni (*for sne or rñi ?*) can gsum

"Arrows with silken nooses, three."

Possibly the silk string served for recovery of the arrow after emission.

(Y. M.I., xiv, 142, and lviii, 007 (*infra*, p. 539))

23. M. Tāgh c. ii, 0053 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r., l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script)

❁ || mde hu thun gi gžu gchig

"Bow for short arrows, one."

Mdehu recurs M.T. a. iv 0026, c. iv, 0025 (*mdehu-thun-mkhan*, "short arrow man").

24. M. Tāgh b. ii, 0044 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete, hole for string at l., ll. 2 recto + 1 verso, in columns, of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❁ || Sen kar gyi sde De ga Lha skyes phub

[A 2] rje blas dgon gi hsar . byan

[A 1] la (ral ?) ral mdah gžu.rgyud

[A 2] gru ma gyu bca hchan(?) dan chas (gcig ?)

[B] | do sgye(i ?) | hurdo | mdah ral (kh)od(a ?)

"Sen-kar regiment equipment ticket of his eminence De-ga Lha-skyes, *dgon* Armour (or breast-plate); knife without haft (?), knife with haft (?); arrow; scissors (?); bow with string, bags, two, sling, arrow and knife pouch."

Notes

This document is interesting as illustrating the case of a monk—for such the "eminent Lha-skyes of De-ga" (on which see *supra*) clearly is—acting as a *dgon* or archer's comrade, a relation which we have had a previous occasion for noting. Secondly, it exhibits probably the complete outfit of a *dgon*. In several points the reading or meaning is doubtful: thus *ḥchan* "scissors" is not certain, though probable, and the reading of the last syllable as *khod* and its interpretation as *khud*, "wrapper," or *khud-pa*, "pouch," are somewhat conjectural; but there is no difficulty in *gyu-ma* and *gyu bca* - *yu-med* and *yu-bcas*, while *sgyi* and *sgye* can both mean "bag", and *ḥurdo* (*ḥur-rdo*) is certainly "sling". In M I., xiv, 006, we have *mdaḥ gžu . . . bchan*, "arrow, bow, scissors (?)"

25. M I., xiv, 39 (wood, c. 20·5 × 1·5 × ·75 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly erased).

[1] ❦ | ¦ Rgod tsaṅ smad . kyi sde . mdaḥ . [g]žu : mdaḥ ral.gyi (*for* gri ?) phub [2] [Lha ?]m Klu.spe.bčar . . [bdu?] . . (stsa ?)] (khog (n?) ?] -ma . [bla] . . [dar . daṅ ?]

"Lower Rgod-tsaṅ regiment: arrow, bow, arrow, knife (-pouch ?), armour . . sent . . equipment [for] [Lha ?]m Klu-spe . . . with banner (?)."

Notes

This is plainly similar to the preceding. *Bčar* is clearly identical with the *bcar* of that passage: *glaḥ-dar* has occurred in M.I., iv, 71 (= *bla-dar* "a little flag" ?).

26. M I., lviii, 007 (wood, c. 19 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ❦ || . [gyi ?] . lha . ḥi . mnan . sraṅ . ra . skyes . bžin . bsnans . gcig | skyem[s] [A 2] rdzu(e) ḥu . gaṅ . co . ga . skyems . rdze . ḥu . gaṅ . phye . bre gaṅ mar . sraṅ . gci[g] [B] śiṅ . rw . gcig . mda[ḥ] . dar . sna (*sic*) . can . gcig

"Of ... *lha*, one government balance, large, in the form of a he-goat (?); drinking-cup, one, full; *co-ga* drinking-cup, full; flour a full *bre*; oil one ounce; wood, one bundle (?); arrow with silken string, one."

Notes

The meaning of *co-ga* ("lark": in M.I. 0018 *cog* or *tsog*) is not known. *ru*, for which the rendering "bundle" is suggested, usually means "figure", "outline", "quarter", *res*, "time" (i.e. "allowance") may have been intended.

27. M Tāgh a iv, 0067 (wood, c 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., somewhat burnt away at l., hole for string at r., l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

❦ || Rgyahi mdun.rtse bcu

"Chinese spear-points, ten"

28 M Tāgh c i, 0026 (wood, c 13 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, somewhat curved, hole for string at r, ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu can* script)

[A] ❦ || Rgya khrab ma hbrin rim dgu.pa [B] gsum

"Chinese bucklers (or mail-coat), medium, with nine rows (*or* with nine medium rows) three."

The "rows" may point rather to bucklers than to mail-coats, both of which senses are given in the dictionary.

29 M Tāgh c ii, 0021 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete hole for string at r, l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ || Byi byar gyi khrab ma

"Buckler of Byi bvar"

Apparently Byi bvar is a personal name.

30. M. Tāgh. 0353 (wood, c. 15 × 2 cm., complete, hole for string at r, ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script)

[A 1] ❦ || spahi gñer las . cag . grugs . su . byuṅ . ste . ma . [A 2] lom bah | mdehu . thuṅ . gi . gñ[u] . gñis | Li . gñ[u].[y]aṅ [B] [mo] gsu[m]

"From the man in charge of ornaments (?), broken and

unserviceable (?) bows for short arrows, two; light Khotan bows, three."

Notes

ma-lom-bah appears to be unknown. possibly it means simply *ma-lon-pa*, "not arrived."

4. *Grades and Commissions*

31. M.I., vii, 33 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] ༄ || bdag . ñan . pah || sug las | tu . htheb . tu . bskos . pa las || sug rjed kyi . sr[o]h . ma . zin [A 2] nas || da. dun . gi . bar . du . | sug . rjed . ma . thob . pa || bkah . [drin] . yan . chad[u] . hchald . par . gyur . na | [B 1] Hdzom . stod . kyi . sde || ru . ña . cun | do . cig . yul hbrosu . mchi . mchi . [ba] . las || slar . babs nas . | [B 2] gi . la . mchis pa || bdagi . sug . rjedu stsald . par | bkas gthad par thugs pags ci mdzad ||

"Your humble servant, when appointed in succession to a duty, did not receive a *sroh* (nit "bit"?) of commission. Down to the present time he has not got a commission. If ratification was kindly intended, please trouble to send orders that the minor *Ru-ña* of the Upper Hdzom regiment, who at present, after going about roaming the country, is returned and is on the spot, should send my commission."

Notes

A 1, *htheb-tu*. "in succession Does this mean "in due course of promotion" or "in succession" to another?

sug-rjed, "hand-memorandum," is given in the dictionaries as meaning "a mark of honour as a reward", but here and again (*infra*, p. 564) it evidently corresponds to what we understand by a "commission" or formal appointment to a function. See p. 390, and add M I., iv, 40.

A 2, *bkah-drin-yan-cha[d d]u*: This might mean "to ratify the kindness"; but *bkah-drin* seems sometimes to be used adverbially. Is *hchald* from *hchel* "desire" or *hchol* "appoint"?

B 1, *Hdzom-stod-kyi-sde*: Concerning this regiment see p. 556.

ru-ña-can : Cf. M.I., vii, 9. Since the term *ro-ña* occurs elsewhere (*infra*, p. 543) as a military title, this should be likewise.

32. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19·5 × 2·5–3 cm., cut and broken at l., hole for string at r.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 (a different hand and subject) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *Legs* khri ḥi . mchid . gsol . baḥ . bkaḥ . yig . spriṅs [A 2] . . . d- bro rmas . pa . dg-r . ḥtshal . de . bri . ni . ma . ḥtshal . bar . ches so . rjed . phyis de ḥtshal [A 3] . . . [ciṅ] . mchis . len[1] . len . du . gtaṅ . ba . lagsna . de . las . na . der . skur . bar . thugs spag. [A 4] [c]ir mdzadna.

"Letter-petition of Legs khri that I was glad of your having sent your commands and inquired after [my] illness I certainly need not write The soldier memorandum (*so-rjed*), which is delayed, I am desirous (of having) and I have sent to get it So please trouble to sent it there (here)"

Notes

I A 1 2, *dgar ḥtshal* *ḥtshal-bar-ches* The phraseology is unusual

so-rjed "Soldier memorandum" (or commission), see p. 390 In a ii 0048 we read *quan skyold du mchis-na-so-rjed-mchi ham myi* "as I am come on secret convoy, is the *so-rjed* coming or not?"

A 3, *der* "there" for "here" seems to be epistolary

33 M I, vii, 16 (wood c 8 × 3 cm, complete, hole for string at r., ll 3 *recto* + 1 *verso* of inelegant cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ◉ gyab Lha ston gyi glaṅ [A 2] gchig Myes . bo[r] [A 3] daṅ , Myes mthyoṅ [B] la kha bstan

"One ox belonging to *gyab* Lha-ston, promised to Myes-bor and Myes-mth(y)oṅ"

On *gyab* see p 389

34. M Tāgh c iii, 0048 (wood, c 9·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. l 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

◉ [ ] sro Dgyer sto

"Sro Dgyer-sto"

[1] n below line len seems to be repeated in error.

On sro see pp. 380, 555.

35. M.I., xli, 0013 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2–2·5 cm., broken away at l.; in two pieces of equal size; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . pan . skyes . dba[ṅ] . bgyid . pa . las [A 2] . . . blas . Tshla [1]. byiḥi . ru . dpon . du . bskos [B 1] . . . ḥbrugi . lo . la . ni ¦ Ña . bsaṅ . gis [B 2] . . rmos ¦ sbrul . gi . lo . la . ni ¦ Laṅ.

"After the administration of [Ḫ]p(h)an-skyes . . . appointed by [His Excellency] brigade-commander of Tshal-byi. . . . In the Dragon year ploughed by Ña-bsaṅ; in the Serpent year, Laṅ . . ."

On *ru-dpon* "brigade-commander" see pp. 380, 388; on Tshal-byi, 1928, p. 555. . *blas* is perhaps for *rje-blas*.

36. M.I., xlii, 006 (wood, c. 8·5 9 × 2 cm., broken away at r., ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faded or erased).

[1] | . | mchibs [d]pon | g-os [2] kyo Yor.go |

"Horse-commandant *g-os-kyo* Yor-go."

On *mchibs-dpon* see pp. 384, 388.

37. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0093 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 6 × 1·5 cm., a discoloured fragment, ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, obscure).

[A 1] . dpuṅ pon chen po .

[B 1] . . . bul(dul ?) rtsaṅ[s] (snaṅs ?) chuṅs.[m] . . .

". . . major troop-commander . . ."

On *dpuṅ-dpon* see pp. 386, 388.

38. M.I., xiv, 0012 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r., ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] |¦ ṅos . pon . mthoṅ . khyab . gyi . sde | bag . ṅu . sñva . ma (*n . chad ?*) . ro . ña . pra . mo yan . [2] chad . | so . ñul . du . mchi . ra . sug . las . bgyi . baḥi . rtsis . mgo

"Region-commander-watchtower regiment: list of work to be done by *bag-ṅu-sñva* down to minor *ro-ña* going on secret service."

[1] Compendious for *Tshal*.

Notes

l. 1, *ños-pon* : " commander of a direction " (i.e. of a frontier in one of the four directions). Recurs M.I., xiv, 7 ; xxvii, 7. *bag-ño-sñve* and *ro-ña* : See *supra*, p. 389. *pra-mo* = *phra-mo* " little ".

l. 2, *so-ñul* . See p. 391.

rtsis-mgo : See p. 390.

39. M.I., xiv, 0062 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❀ | . | bag.ño sñva.g-yon. |

" Left-hand *bag-(r)no-sñva*."

40. M.I., lviii, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❀ | mthoñ khyab.gyi sde.bag.ra.Khri

" *bag-ra* Khri of the Watch-tower regiment."

41. M.I., xxvii, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at each end : l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❀ | · | bag ra Bža(i ?)ḥi mchid gsol.ba |

" Letter-petition of *bag-ra* Bža (*or* of four *bag-ras*)."

42. M. Tâgh. b. ii, 0042 (wood, c. 13–13·5 × 2 cm., practically complete, hole with string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* also ✕).

[A 1] ❀ | . | Stag . skugs . na . | sña . śur . Bañ . tshe . | ri . zug [A 2] paḥi . brg[y]ags . | so . Sl[u]ñs . la . btañ . ba . rinsu . [B] skyol . chig |

" Mountain-sickness provisions for *sña-śur* Bañ-tshe in Stag-skugs to be handed to [a] Sluñs soldier and conveyed in haste."

On *sña-śur*, *ri-zug*, and *Sluñs* see pp. 389, 385–6. The phrase " to be handed to [a] Sluñs " recurs in c. iii, 0016 and 0047, and it is evident that the Sluñs people furnished the army messengers, police, servants, and camp-followers. On *Stag-skugs* see 1930, pp. 265–6.

5. *Military Instructions*

43. M. Tāgh. a. v, 002 and 0031 (wood, two adjoining pieces, together c. 11·5 × 2·5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . rtsald.pa : | dbyard.sla.tha.cuṅs.tshes.gsum

[A 2] . . . -u.rtsig.pa̱hi : dusu : bañeṅs : par : thugs : [A 3] . . . d : | bag . ma : ḫdor . bar : | ñin : ra . sa : mtho . žiṅ : ||

[B 1] . . . [da]ṅ : | rdul . mgo : ji . gdraḫ (gdaḫ) . ba : brtag : | mtshan.žiṅ : [B 2] . . . -om : ji . grag . pa : yaṅ : ñin . gyi : ñin : ra . da[ṅ :] [B 3] . . . : mthoṅ . tshor . na : | Ñam . ru . pag : gi : |

"sent. Take care to arrive on the third day of the last summer month at the time of building. . . Putting away carelessness, the day encampment being high ground, mark . . . and what dust and heads appear; at night . . . what sounds. For the day look for and examine the day encampment and . . . Of Ñam-ru-pag . . ."

Notes

A 3, *bag-ma* seems to be = *bag-med*. *ñin-ra* = "day-enclosure", here and in B 5. In Khad. 037 we read *mtshan-yaṅ-rkaṅ-ra-dmadu-gzu*[*ṅ*] "at night again the bundle-enclosure (*rkaṅ-ra* 'foot-enclosure'?) taken on low ground (*dmadu*?)".

B 3, *Nam-ru-pag-gi*: The instructions are apparently for a company of the (oft-mentioned) Ñam-ru-pag regiment, on which see p. 563.

44. M. Tāgh. a. v, 007 (wood, c. 13·5 × 2·5–3 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | . | stso(so ?) : sa : ḫdi : rnams : gyi . tshugs : pond : so . tshor . . . [A 2] la . so . sa : gžir : phyind . par . mchi . la : | do . cig . Pe[ḫu ?] . . . [A 3] chuṅ . baḫi : | śas : gyaṅ . mchis : pas : | le . lo : ma . bg[y]i . . . [B 1] gs[o]l : ba : nas . | ñin . žiṅ . yul . gyi . dbyaṅs : [p?] . . . [B 2] my (rgy ?)— . bar . tsag . tsig . daṅ : | rta . sgra . lhaṅ . b[tsh]er : daṅ : dgra . g . . . [B 3] mtshan . gyi : mye[l] . tse . dgu : dam . du . tsugs : la : | dgra . byuṅ . [b] . . .

"To the sergeant and company of soldiers [in charge] of these contributions. . . . While the contributions are on their way to reach the place, as at present there is in Peḥu (rtse ? mar ?) but little, it is requested that there should be no carelessness. In the day-time the country sounds . . . rustling (?) and clear neighing of horses and enemy . . . Halt during nine watches of the night. An enemy having appeared . . ."

Notes

Analogous directions for caution on a march have been exemplified (1928, p 588) On *tshugs-pon*, *so-tsho*, *myel-tshe* see pp. 386, 388, 386, respectively. The "nine watches" of the night may be "nine watchmen" or "all the watches". *Tsugs* (from *ḥdzugs*) = "halt" is conjectural.

45. M Tägh., 0485 (paper fragment, c. 21·5 × 3·5 cm.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 *verso* of clear, regular, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . sña nas . .

[A 2] bdaḥste | gdugs . mtshan . spy[odna . . . -y] . . . [*bsl-ba-mu* . châ] || [r]ka tsam . gnug (bżag ?) . [*pa*] . nan . . . .

[A 3] bżin drug du . mchi || lag . pon . dan . mtshon . cha . dan . ldan ba . thab mo . pa dag . ni || dgra . mgo . ci . ltar . g . . . . .

[A 4] pon . kyi . cha . skad . sdod . chin | ḥbros . khu[n] . dan . thab . sa . tsam . dag kyan . btsal(s ?) . te . gżi . na . bsdad . la || . . . .

[B 1] bgyi ḥtshal[1] . baḥi . skad . chig mchis . na . yan || sna . la . rta . pas . | dgras . śul . du . tshog . myi . rdzis . paḥi . chos . [su] .

[B 2] mchi | myi bśar . dan gnag . [-o . . —— -i . . . .] [din (chin ? nn ?)] la.thug.ste.[śu]l.nans.su.mchi[s (n ?)] . . .

[B 3] . . . [rmi.che — (mi ?)]

[A] ". . . in front (*or* first) . . . driving . . . marching day and night . . . the troop should go in six like . . . The workmen and the armed fighting men, on seeing enemy heads . . . The

[1] *l* below line.

troop of . . . waiting a moment, after scrutinising avenues of flight and battle-ground, should wait in its place. [B] If some news of an intended . . . comes, in the van horsemen should go in the manner of pioneers checked by the enemy on the way. If falling in with men in arms and . . . they should retreat . . ."

Notes

The document is fragmentary and accordingly in places obscure.

A 2, ***rka(ska)-tsam-bẑag***: "Halt for a moment"?

A 3, ***mgo-ci-ltar***: On "seeing heads" cf. 1928, p. 588.

B 1, ***dgras-śul-du-tshog-myi-rdzis-pa***: An obscure expression, ***tshog = rtsog?***

B 2, ***bśar***· On this word see pp. 538–9.

śul-naṅs-su: "On the road of retreat"? Concerning ***naṅs-su*** see 1927, pp. 1817–18.

6. *Incidents*

46. M.I., x, 3 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete (in two pieces); hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive ***dbu-can*** script, in part faint).

[A 1] ❧ || brgyags . byan . ma . mchis . ẖbum . ltogs . la . cug . paẖ || mnaẖ . bdag . chen . [A 2] poẖi . sñan . myi . slebs . po [1] . la | bla . ẖog . [na]s | dbu . yugs . smad . la . dṅaṅsu (?) [2] [B 1] bgyid . de || [sno ?] . gze . daṅ . glan [3] . ẖtshal . dag . kyaṅ . mchisna . | sdum . bt[ab] . dgra[sla] . . . [B 2] ba . [b]usmad . [g]coṅs [4] . kyi . bar . du . || bla . ẖog . [nas] . sus . kyaṅ . myi . gtse . ẑin . | ph[a (phra ? pha ?) . miṅ . dar] [B 3] [stoṅ . sdeẖi] . [ẖo]g . du . mchis . su . stso[l] . [c]ig . pa (?) | Nob . ched . poẖi | rtse . rje . la . bkās . gtad . pra (par).ci.gnaṅ

"In regard to certain comers, friends (servants ?) of a great person in authority, who are without a provision-ticket and reduced to hunger, high and low bowing their

[1] paẖi ?
[2] dṅaṅ-can ?
[3] glon ?
[4] gtsaṅ yo ? gtsaṅ | so ?

head-wraps to insult and seeking to mend their old vessels (?), be pleased to send orders to the chief official of Great Nob that, while they lament their homes and families . . . the enemy, no one high or low should harm them, and that they with their little brother (?) should be allowed to go down to the Thousand-district. . . ."

Notes

A 1, *brgyags-byan* : No doubt, a ticket authorizing receipt of provisions.

A 2, *sñan-myi* . This may mean either "friends" (*sñan*, "dear") or servants (*sñan*, "hear").

dbu-yugs . . *glan* Reading in part uncertain and translation conjectural. *Dbu-yugs* should mean "head-wrap" (= turban), *glan* or *glon* may mean "lend", but it may come from *len* "take", and the sense may be that people are insulting them and seeking to rob them.

B 2, *phra-min-dar(n)* Can this mean "with their little brothers"?

ston-sde This may be the *governor of* the Thousand-district, as 1928, p 584.

47. M.T., 0488 (paper, c. 22 × 5 cm., fragmentary at l. (?), r., top and bottom ; ll 5 *recto* of good *dbu-can* script + l. 1 *verso* in an inferior hand).

[A 1] . . . n d-ṅ . ch . . . . [g] . . . y- . [s]l-r . ḥduste . m[chis]

[A 2] žugs gy- . g-y[o]n . l-nd . to | ḥog . pon . ni . mye . skrad . gth-ṅ . paḥi žal . ta . daṅ . ñin . raḥi . sto . . .

[A 3] . tshugs pon gcig . bu . ḥtshal . pa . dmyig . skyo . pas . so [ye] . myigis myi . tshor . par . [mchis . pa] . . .

[A 4] ni . ḥog pon . man . cad . pyan . g-yog . yan . cad . rta sor [byed] . [paḥi . myi . de] . las . -e . . .

[A 5] . . pa . sug . las gžan ni . mamchis . [pa] . . -i

[B] : . g- gsold ci g

". . being again united, went . . . avoided (*g-yon-lend*) the fire. The corporal . . the service of putting out the fire

and . . . of the day-encampment. . . . The sergeaunt who wishes to be alone, being of a quarrelsome (?) disposition, went unperceived by the alert-eyed soldiers. . . . The . . . from corporal down to cook's mate . . . from those men who were (that man who was) causing the horses to run away. . . . The . . . who had no other task. . . ."

Notes

The incident is one in which a squad, with a sergeaunt and corporal, encounters difficulties, its encampment being fired and the horses scared away. The fragmentary state of the document obscures the details. Concerning *ñin-ra*, *tshugs-pon*, *ye-myig*, *ẖog-pon*, and *byan-g-yog* see *supra*. *Mye-skrad* (from *skrod*), " put out " the fire, is probable; *dmyig-skyo* " fancy-quarrelsome (*or* sorrowful) ".

48. M.I., x, 2 (wood, c. 15·5 × 2 cm., slightly cut away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* in part very faint).

[A 1] ༄ || dpen . baẖı . żo . śa . ẖbul . ẖbul . baẖi . dgras . bkum . baẖi [A 2] [bu ?] . smad . ẖkhor . yul || chis . [skagsu (dag ?)] . chaṅ . khyur . spyan . gyi[s] . ẖtsho[l] [B 1] cig . ce[s] . ż[aṅ . lon] . ched . poẖı . mchid . kyis . kyaṅ . bcad || khri . dpo[n] . daṅ [B 2] stoṅ . pon da[g . g] i . . || [żig] . la . -e . ma . żi[ṅ (g ?)] || chi . . . gy- [B 3] ẖtshal . bas || gu[m] . kya[ṅ] . my[i] g[tsi] . bar . || Nob . ched . poẖi . rtse . rje . [b]la . ẖog

" The great Uncle Councillor has by letter ordered that the families of those killed by the enemy while bringing offerings of useful contributions should upon their arrival in the territories administered be interviewed by the *chaṅ-khyur*, the commandants of Ten-Thousands and the commandants of Thousands should [*do no harm to any of them: whoever seeks to harm them*] is not to [receive consideration] even when dead—[orders from] the chiefs in command of Great Nob, superior and inferior."

Notes

A 1, *dpen-bahı-źo-ta*. See 1927, p. 75; 1928, p. 584.

A 2, *ḥkhor-yul-chis-skagsu* We have translated *ḥkhor-yul-mchis-skabsu*. *Ḥkhor*, however, could be taken with *bu-smad*, in the sense of "and belongings". *Skagsu* could mean "in ill-luck".

chan-khyur. An official designation, perhaps of a general nature (= "chief officials"): see 1927, pp. 77, 79.

B 1-2, *khri-dpon, ston-dpon*. The commandant of a "Ten-Thousand" (district) is obviously superior to the commandant of a Thousand, concerning which office see p. 382. Both are civilians. The original text perhaps continued *dag . gis* || *żig . la . gtsa . ma . żig* || *chis* (*cis*) *. gtse . bgyır . ḥtshal . bas*

B 3, *bla-ḥog*: Perhaps the intended meaning is "*to all*, superiors and inferiors, [gives instruction]."

49. M.I, xxviii, 0023 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r., ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of neat, clear, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . sp[e ?] || skun . kar . gyı slad . rol . żiṅ . tog . du | [A 2] . . [y]as . gtses . śiṅ . glan . ka . bgyıd . du . yaṅ . glo . ba [B 1] . . . [-ı(e ?)] . du . mchıs . pa | ḥthol żıṅ . mchis . na . [B 2] . . . [-ı]s . myi gtshe . bar . chı . gnaṅ . żes . gsol . te.

". . in the fields (*żın-tog* = °*thog* ?) outside the fort are being harmed by . . and are tempted (*glo-ba-ñe-du*) to make reprisals (*glan-ka*). Being engaged in digging (*ḥthol*), . . . beg [you] to allow no [one] to harm . . ."

On *skun-kar* (*sku-mkhar*) see p. 386. *Ḥthol* (with *btol, gtol*) probably means "dig", but in the Tibetan Chronicle (ll. 20, 134) it occurs several times with the sense of "bury", which perhaps it has here (as also in M.I., vii, 3 and 20; xix, 002, M. Tāgh 0293).

50. M. Tāgh 001 (wood, c. 20·5–21 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at r., upper and lower corners; hole for string at r., ll. 3 *recto* + 3 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . gsol . ba . thugs bde . bar . smon . mchid . yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol [2] . . . n . so . ñul . [las] . gsan . ba . tsam .

tabs . bdag . ṅan . pa . yaṅ [3] . . . [ch-d . s-g ?] tsha . bo . ḥi[1] . rgyags . sn[o]d . gal . du . naṅ . mtshal (= nan-rtsal ?) . chad . ḥdi [4] . . . myi . las . Mes . slebs . Ḫu . ten . [du] . . . [B 1] . . . [khor] . żag . du . mchis . pa . mchis : || yaṅ . ri . zug . dag . ni . maṅs . pa . daṅ . dgra [B 2] . . . [n . chad . du . myi] . bzaṅ . bas . yar . byin . na . ruṅ . ba . ḥdra || mchid . yig . sṅa . phi . gsum [B 3] . . . n . mchis . sam . ma . m[chis] : żal . m[ja]l . gyi . bar . [du] . thugs . bde . żiṅ . la . żal . myu[r . du] [B 4] m[ja]l . [bar . smon . ciṅ . mchis] | |

". . . petitions : Prayers for (your) happiness : this letter is to inquire after (your) health. So far as I hear from the soldier spy, it is excellent. Your humble servant has exerted himself for the transmission of grandson . . . 's provision basket (?). Of the men here Mes-slebs has gone on leave to Ḫu-ten. Also there are many mountain-sick : being no good for . . . an enemy, it looks as if they ought to be let go up. Have the three letters, prior and later, come, or not ? Until we meet face to face may you be in good spirits : I am praying for an early meeting face to face."

On *khor-zag* "leave" see p. 398 ; on *ri-zug*, pp. 385–6 ; *yar* (B 2) "up" might mean "back to Tibet" or "back to headquarters (Śiṅ-śan ?)".

51. M. Tāgh., i, 0014 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm. ; incised lines and notches *recto* and *verso* ; large notch in bottom centre ; hole for string at l. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | . | dgra . byuṅ . śor . dag . | [2] chad . | |

"Punished (executed) for flight on appearance of enemy."

Similar punishment for cowardice is reported in M. Tāgh., 0206, and a. v, 0012, and b. i, 0036b (?).

7. *Personalia*

52. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 006 (wood, c. 14·5 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *ni* (?).

[A 1] ☙ | : | Ḫo . tsho . pagi . sde . Ḫo . ru . Pyi . tshab . | so . la . btus pa . las [A 2] bro . ḫtshal . nas | so . la . m[ch]i . baḫi . rño . mi . tog . nas . ko . [B 1] na . stoṅ . sde . naṅ . du . sña . śur . slog . ta . daṅ . so . sña . pyir . sde . [B 2] brjes . te | slog . ta . res . la . Pyi . tsab . mchi . bar . bgyis . |

"Ḫo-ru P[h]yi-tshab, of the Ḫo-tsho-pag regiment, having *after* joining service, fallen ill, and being unable to go on service, it was arranged that he should exchange service earlier and later with a *sña-śur* returning to the Thousand-district and that P[h]yi-tshab should go in place of the returning man."

Notes

A 1, *so-la-btus* . On the phrase see p. 386.

stoṅ-sde · The Thousand-district is, no doubt, Ḫo-tsho-pag.

B 1, *slog-ta* : Apparently a technical term, denoting a man released from military service Concerning *sña-śur* see p. 389.

53. M. Tāgh., 0019 (wood, c. 14–14·5 × 2·5–3 cm., complete ; hole for string at r., ll 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of squared *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☙ | . | jo . co Khri(o ?) . bżer . dan . tsa . bo . Cuṅ . ra dan . Cuṅ . ḫbriṅ . la . | Ḫpan . s[gy]e . [A 2] s . gyi . mchid . gsol[1] ba . Stag cun . gi tsal . ma . tsam . żig . ma [A 3] r . ma skur na . kho . yaṅ lbegs : sde . ḫgum : żiṅ . mchis . b [B 1] dag . cag ḫi . ḫtsal ma . la . yaṅ . gnod . cin . mchis . na . skur . [B 2] bar gsol yar gtaṅ . du . ni . mchi . baḫi rño myi thog ciṅ . [B 3] mchis | da . lta . ni . tsal . ma . su mnar . ciṅ . mchis na |

"To lord Khri(o ?)-bżer and grandsons Cuṅ-ra and Cuṅ-ḫbriṅ letter petition of Ḫpan-sgyes Stag-cun's rations, any at all, not having been sent down, he has died by suicide (hunger, *ltogs* ?) My own rations also having been injured, please send. As for dispatching [a message] up, it is not possible to go. At present I am where rations are . . ."

[1] *l* omitted.

Notes

A 1: On *tsa-bo* "grandsons" see 1930, p. 262. Cuṅ-ta and Cuṅ-ḥbriṅ are, doubtless, sons of Khri-bžer.

A 3, *lbegs* : = *lcebs*, found *supra*, 1927, p. 81 ?

B 3, *su-mnar-ciṅ* ?

54. M.I., vii, 46 (wood, c. 14·5 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ || ḅyi . ba . bgyis . pa . khrims . che . la . thug . pa . || dmag . pon . daṅ | [2] spyan . gis . dbyoṅs . dkyigs . [la] . gsol . cig ||

"One who, having done his duty, has met with a heavy sentence begs for a personal interview with the general."

Notes

spyan-gis-dbyoṅs : "interview with sight." On *dbyoṅs*, from *ḥbyon-pa*, see 1927, pp. 72, 844.

dkyigs · This is perhaps the word *dkrig*, given in S. C. Das' dictionary as meaning "personally".

55. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0030 (wood, c. 13·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ || naṅ . rje . po . blon . Lha . bžre [1] . gi . ža . sṅar || Gyi . na [A 2] riṅ . gi . mchid . gsol . ba . Mars . Lha [2] . rma . ḥi | [B 1] rkub . bcad . bar . ci . gnaṅ . Gyi . na . riṅ . gyan . rkub . bcad . [B 2] bar . gsol ||

"To the presence of Lha-bžes, minister of internal affairs: petition of Gyi-na-riṅ. Thanks for the *rkub-bcad* of Mars Lha-rma. Gyi-na-riṅ also petitions for *rkub-bcad*."

Rkub-bcad, which in Sanskrit would perhaps be *pāyu-ccheda*, is perhaps some surgical operation. since the request comes from the person concerned, it can hardly be disciplinary.

8. *List of Regiments* (*sde*)

(N.B.—Regiments certainly belonging to Tibet proper, about twenty in number, are distinguished by a *.)

Bar-khoḥi-sde (Bar-kho unknown).

[1] Compendious for *bžer*. [2] *Lag* (?).

56. M. Tāgh. c. i, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ❁ | . | Bar . khoḥi . sde | Rlaṅ . Gyer . bu . cuṅ .
[B] bźi . bcuḥ . rtsa . lṅa . chad |

"Bar-kho regiment. Rlaṅ Gyer-bu minor punished forty-five (stripes ?)."

Ḥbroṅ-tsham-gyi-sde. See *Ḥbroṅ*°.

Bzaṅ-Ḥor-gyi-sde ("Good Hor regiment").

On the Good Ḥor and on the Ḥbroṅ-tsams regiment see 1931, p. 882, and *infra*, p. 557, respectively.

Further mention of the same regiment in M. Tāgh., 0345, a. iii, 0013, quoted above and a iv, 0026, b i, 002, c. ii, 0046, c. iii, 0060.

* *Dags(or Dvags)-po-sde* (Dags-po, a Tibetan tribal division).

57. M. Tāgh., 0332 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., broken away at r., l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | . | Dags po.sde | Se Khlu rton

"Dags-po regiment S. Khlu-rton"

Se is perhaps a military title see *supra*, p. 389.

Dgyes-sde (Perhaps a special kind of troop, on *dgyes* or *sgyes* see *JRAS* 1930, p. 263, and *supra*, p. 385).

58. M. Tāgh. 0351 (wood, c. 15 5 × 2 cm, broken away at r.; ll 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, very faint).

[1] ❁ | | Dgyes sde . [po] . Chun . ra . daṅ . [Snan] . bžer . la [2] gyis rmas . na . ph[y]ogsu . thugs . b[de . ba . ḥes] .

"To Chun-ra and Snaṅ-bžer of the Dgyes regiment . . . it having been stated by . that [you] on your part are happy. . . ."

Further mention in M Tāgh. a. ii, i, 0011, 0097, c. ii, 0017.

* *Dor-te-ḥi-sde* (Dor te (*or* de), a Thousand-district in Tibet, as noted *supra*)

59. M.I., 0034 (wood, c 8 × 2 cm, fragmentary at r.: l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ || Dor . tehi . s[d]e | H̱ . . .

"Dor-te regiment : H̱ . . ."

* *Gad-sram-gyi-sde* (Gad-bkram, a Thousand-district of H̱gos, in Tibet).

60. M. Tāgh., 0239 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., complete (?); ll. 1 *recto* + 2 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] N̊aṃ . naṃ . smon . leg |

[B 1] Gad sram . gyi . sde | sro . Tshes . mthṅo.[1] [B 2] pye . bre . gsum . ḫtshal . |

". . . Gad-sram regiment : *sro* Tshes-mthoṅ requests three *bre* of flour."

Sro is apparently a military title . see *supra*, pp. 389, 542.

61. M. Tāgh. a., 4 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5–2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 (in 4 compartments) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Gad . sr[aṃ]	gtad . My[o]s	H̱b[r ?]eḫu . gzig[s]	. . .
[2] s[d]e . la	[rlob]	cad .	

"To the Gad-sraṃ regiment sent [by] Myos-rlob : H̱breḫu-gzigs executed . . ." Also in a. iii, 0019, *infra*, p. 556.

Glaṅ-śaṅ-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0021 (fragmentary).

* *Gcom-paḫi-sde* (Bcom-pa, a Thousand-district of Cog-ro in E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted 1930, pp. 51–3.

Gom-paḫi-sde (apparently different from the Grom(H̱grom)-pa regiment).

62. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0037 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-caṇ* script).

❦ || Gom : pa : ḫi : sde : ko : ṅan : Pan : legs

"Gom-pa regiment · *ko-nan* P[h]an-legs."

63. M. Tāgh. a. v, 008 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., broken away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Compendious for *mthoṅ*.

. . . Gom.paḫi.sde phu.bag.Mu.ne.sta.ṅa |

"Gom-pa regiment: Phu-bag Mu-ne-sta-ṅa."

Phu (*Pu*)-*bag*, which recurs *infra*, p. 567, and in c. iv, 0035, may be an official (or local) designation.

Graṅ-brtsan-sde

64. M. Tâgh. b. ii, 0047 (wood, c. 10 × 2·5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☙ || Graṅ.brtsan.sde | stag.Khri.-[e] . . .

[2] sñiṅ.ñen | Tro.ki.Min.phan.daṅ | . . .

"Graṅ-brtsan regiment: officer Khri.-e . . . sñiṅ-ñen: *Tro-ki* Min-phan and . . .

Tro-ki is probably a surname.

65. M. Tâgh a, vi, 0020 (wood, c. 11 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, obscure and dirt-encrusted)

[1] ☙ . Graṅ [brts]an.gyi.sde.gyerd | [2] Kho[ṅs] . . .

"Graṅ-brtsan regiment. *gyerd* Khoṅs . . ."

Gyerd is perhaps an official title: see *supra*, p. 389.

* *Grom-paḫi-sde* (= *Ḫgrom-paḫi-sde*, q.v.).

Gyar-skyaṅ-gi-sde (= *Yar-skyan-gi-sde*, "Yarkand regiment," q.v.).

* *Ḫbro-mtshams-kyi-sde* (Ḫbro, a tribal district in Tibet).

66. M. Tâgh a. iii, 0019 (wood, c. 14 × 2–2·5 cm., broken away at l., hole for string at r., ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] . . . [1 ?]. Khyuṅ daṅ. | Bro. tshams. gyi. sde. Rgya. Dred po. daṅ | Ḫbro. [rgya ?]

[A 2] . . [kh ?]—n. gyi. sde. Dgro. Legs. [z]i[gs] | daṅ. Ga.sram gyi [sd ?]e [Rgya ?]

[B 1] . . bžer gyis | | Skyaṅ. po. Lha. goṅ. daṅ.

[B 2] . . . | gy —. lha. ky—[s]. Rma . . . khri. la. [spriṅo ?]

". . . Khyuṅ, and of the Bro-tshams regiment Chinaman Dred-po, and of the Ḫbro . . . kh—ṅ regiment Dgro Legs-zigs,

and of the Ga[d]-sram regiment Chinaman (?) . . . bher : along with Skyaṅ-po Lha-goṅ . . . : by [these] five sent to Rma . . . khri."

Khyuṅ and *Skyaṅ-po* are, like *Ḥbro*, tribal designations (noted *supra*). *Ḥbro . . . kh—ṅ* is perhaps = *Ḥbroṅ-khoṅ*, and *Ga-sram* is the *Gad-sram* recorded in this list. *Dgro* is perhaps the *Sgro* Thousand-district of Tibet.

Ḥbrom-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0031, quoted *supra*.

* *Ḥbroṅ-mtshams-kyi-sde* (no doubt connected with the Ḥbroṅ district of Mdo-smad in Tibet).

67. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0019 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ || Ḥbroṅ.tsams.khyi [*sic*].sde.Po.yoṅ.Ḥtus.rma. | [B 1] dṅos.Huten.na.mchis.na.dmag.skyin.nas.g[la] [B 2] thud.ḥbul.lam.myi.ḥbul.rma |

"Ḥbroṅ-tsams regiment. P[h]o-yoṅ Ḥtus(Ḥdus)-rma, at present in Huten, inquires whether from what is owing to the army (*dmag-skyin* ?) extra wage (*gla-(ḥ)thud*) is, or is not, paid."

The place-name *Pho-yoṅ* (*g-yoṅ*) is known as surname of a Tibetan queen : see S. C. Das' *Dict.*

68. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0046 (wood, c. 11·5 × 2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at l. ; ll. 3 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a more cursive hand).

[A 1] ༄ | . | Bzaṅ : Ḥor : gyi | sde . Ḥzaṅ . Ma . brid || Śaṅ . sde : Briṅ . [A 2] legs . Moṅ . | Bron | tsham : gyi : sde : Be : sna .

[A 3] Mṅal.pan.Mu.Śan.doṅ.

[B 1] ༄ || Bzaṅ.Ḥor | Ḥzaṅ.Ma.brid

[B 2] gyi.[sd]e |

[A] "Of the Good Ḥor regiment Ḥzaṅ Ma-brid ; of the Śaṅ regiment Briṅ-legs, a Moṅ ; of the [Ḥ]broṅ-tsham regiment Be sna ; a Mṅal-p[h]an Mu Śaṅ-doṅ."

[B] "Good-Ḥor regiment : Ḥzaṅ Ma-brid."

Notes

On the Good-Ḫor, Śaṅ, and Mṅal-phan regiments see in this list. Be-ssa is perhaps identical with the Ba Snaṅ-rma (of the same regiment) mentioned above (M. Tāgh., 0614).

Ḫdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtshoḫi-sde (title imperfect ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted 1930, pp. 51–3.

Ḫdzom-smad-kyi-sde (" Lower Ḫdzom " regiment, Nob region).

69. M.I., i, 6 (wood, c 6·5 × 1·5 cm., broken away at r. ; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ◆ || Ḫdzom.smad.kyi.sde | ḫo.na[l] . . . [A 2] mkhar du.ḫph(b ?)yuṅ ba las | so [pa] . . . [B 1] tsan.na. mchis.pa.daṅ | bcu . . .

" Lower Ḫdzom regiment . the *ḫo-nal* . . . having been into . . . town, soldier . . . was in . . . tsan and ten . ."

Mentioned in M.I , ii, 25 (quoted *supra*) , viii, 17 ; xxiii, 109*b*.

On *ḫo-nal* see *supra*, p 389

Ḫdzom-stod-kyi-sde (" Upper Ḫdzom " regiment, Nob region : possibly the Ḫzom-lom-stod of *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569).

70 M.I., ii, 38 (wood, c 14 × 1·5 cm , complete ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script)

◆ || Ḫdzom stod kyi sde | Tshe spoṅ.Mthon.skyugs

" Upper Ḫdzom regiment Mthoṅ-skyugs of Tshe-spoṅ (in Tibet) "

71 M I . ii, 37a (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

◆ || Ḫdzom [stod kyi].sd[e].Ldu.Rmol.tsa |

" Upper Ḫdzom regiment Ldu Rmol-tsa."

Mentioned in M I , ii 17 (quoted *supra*), and vii, 33.

* *Ḫgrom-paḫi-sde* (Grom-pa, a Thousand-district of Ḫbro, in Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh a. ii, 0096, and b. i, 0095 (both quoted *supra*)

Ḫo-tsho-pag-gi-sde

72. M. Tāgh a. iii, 002 (wood, c. 14 × 2–2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | Ḥo.tsho.pagi.[sde] | Ña.gram.Lha.brtsan.
[2] btag |

"Delivered by Lha-brtsan of Ña-gram, Ḥo-tsho-pag regiment."

On Ña-gram see 1930, p. 274. *Btag* in the same sense occurs in M.I. iv, 71, M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0048, etc.; cf. pp. 393, 566.

73. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0010 (wood, c. 11·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged and partly erased).

[1] ༄ || Ḥo . żo . pagi . [s]de . Khyuṅ . po . [Snaṅ ?] . kṅo [1]
[2] [ḥog.pon]

"Ḥo-żo-pag regiment: Khyuṅ-po Snaṅ-koṅ, corporal."

Khyuṅ-po is the name of a Tribal division of Tibet.

74. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0031 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

༄ | : | Ḥo.tsho.pagi.sde | sñe.lo.Ña.gzigs. |

"Ḥo-tsho-pag regiment: the sñe-lo Ña-gzigs."

sñe-lo is apparently a military title.

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0058 and 0095 (quoted *supra*) and c. ii, 006.

Kha-dro-ḥi-sde (Kha-dro, a district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 124 and 129, and xliii, 3.

Khar-sar-gyi-sde. See Mkhar°.

* *Khri-boms-kyi-sde* (Khri-boms, in Tibet).

75. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., cut away at bottom · hole for string at r., ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | . | Khri.boms.kyi.sde.Dbyen.Ḥphan. [2] la. r[t]on |

"Khri-boms regiment: Dbyen Ḥphan-la-rton."

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0063 and H, 6. *Dbyen* is an unknown surname: *dben* means "anchorite".

* *Khri-daṅ(taṅ)-gi-sde* (Khri-tha, a Thousand-district adjacent to Ḥdre, in Tibet).

[1] For *koṅ*.

76. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 009 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete as new; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ : | : | Khri : dan . gi : sde : | Ḫbre : Pan : legs : |

"Khri-dan regiment Ḫbre (error for Ḫdre or Ḫbro ?) P[h]-an-legs."

77. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0041 (wood, c. 13–13·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

❦ || [Khri].dan gi.sde gśen.Ci[s] [pā ?] |

"Khri-dan regiment: the *gśen* Cis-paḥ."

On *gśen* see *supra*, pp. 389 90.

* *Khri-goms-kyi-sde* (Khri-dgoṅs, a Thousand-district of Ḫbro, in Tibet)

78. M. Tāgh, 0382 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r., ll. 1 (+ upper parts of another) *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ | Khri.goms gyi.sde.Ḫol.god Byaṅ.bya[ṅs]

[A 2] na (cha ?).[bar ?].[paṅ].gtogs.te.so

[B] ..[s (l ?)].gyi.bśus ||

"Khri-goms regiment. Byaṅ-byaṅs of Ḫol-god . . ."

* *Laṅ-myi-sde* (Laṅ-mi, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tsab, in N.E. Tibet).

79. M. Tāgh a iv, 0077 (wood, c. 13·5–14 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r., ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; *verso* 1 *akṣara* of the same).

[A 1] ❦ | | Laṅ.myiḥi sde rtsi : Klu . lod : naṅ [A 2] gcheg myi chad par rjes . gtsho [B] . . . d

"Laṅ-myi regiment · *rtsi* Klu-lod writes requesting . . . not to be punished (?)."

The meaning of *rtsi* and of *gcheg* is unknown; but cf. *tseg* in a. iv, 0068, and *supra*, p. 398 (*tsheg* = *tshegs* ?).

80. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0034 (wood, c. 10–10·5 × 2 cm., somewhat cut away at bottom, ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat faint).

[1] ༄ || [L]—.myi.sde. | Kog.Ḥsam.sgyes [2] log.pon

"Laṅ-myi regiment, Kog Ḥsam-sgyes, corporal."

The surname *Kog* or *Ḥa-kog* recurs *infra*, p. 563, and elsewhere.

81. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | Laṅ.myi.sde Žims.Stag [2] rton

"Laṅ-myi regiment: Stag-rton of Žims (in Tibet)."

Further mention in M.I., i, 23, and M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0013 (quoted *supra*).

Lhag . . . ḥi.sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0492 (quoted 1930, pp. 56–7).

* *Lho-brag-gyi-sde* (Lho-brag Thousand-district in S.E. Tibet).

82. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, the second l. faint).

[1] ༄ | Lho.brag.gyi.sde.Lbo.kol. [2] [gsol]

"Lho-brag regiment: petition of Lbo-kol."

83. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0023 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ || [Lho . brag . gi] . sde . | Sprag . Bsam . koṅ . [B] bzaṅo. |

"Lho-brag regiment: Bsam-koṅ-bzaṅ of Sprag(s)."

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh., 0264.

* *Man-khar-sde* (Maṅ-khar (gar), a Thousand-district of Ḥbro, in Tibet).

84. M. Tāgh., 0343 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | . | Maṅ.khar.sde.lā |

"To the Maṅ-khar regiment." Also in a. iv, 0012.

Mkhar-sar-gyi-sde

85. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0087 (wood, c. 13–13·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ | : | [M]khar.sar.gyi.[sde] | Mon.chuṅ.la |
[2] gsol [*sic*].pa.

" Mkhar-sar regiment · petition to Mon-chuṅ."

Mṅal-ḥphan-gyi-sde (" Fatigue-benefit " regiment)

86. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0075 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5–2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r., l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

❦ || Mṅu . la [*sic*] . pam [*sic*] . sd[e] . thag . bar . Rtses . phyan.

" Mṅal-ḥphan regiment . middle-rope Rtses-phyan."

On *thag-bar* see *supra*, p. 385

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0022, and c. ii, 0046 (quoted above).

Mṅal-paḥi-sde (possibly connected with the Gñal Thousand-district of S.E. Tibet, but see *supra*, pp. 385–6, and compare *mṅald-paḥi-khri-thag-bar*, 1930, pp. 93–4).

87 M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0017 (wood, c. 13 × 1 5–2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r., ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, rubbed and in part faint)

[A 1] ❦ || Skyi stod gyi s[d]e.S-e-.[tsh]al.[gži ?] . . .
[A 2] rñi — .[ch ?]en (tshug ?) |
[B] ❦ | | Mñal pa . ḥi ste ·

" Upper Skyi regiment S-e- tshal land . . .
Mṅal-pa regiment." Also in c. iii, 0078 (paper).

On the Upper Skyi regiment see *infra*, p. 566.

Mthoṅ-khyab-kyi-sde (" Watch-tower " regiment, cf. *Nos-dpon-mthoṅ-khyab-kyi sde*)

Mentioned in M I, lviii, 001 (quoted *supra*) and xxv, 003.

* ***Myaṅ-roḥi-sde*** (Myaṅ-ro, a tribal district in S.E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*).

Nag-khrid-kyi-sde (no doubt related to Nag-śod, in the Nob region)

88. M.I., xxviii, 0016 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* of cursive *dbu-can* script ; *verso* traces of script).

[A 1] ༄ | . | Nag (b ?).khrid.gyi.sde.Rgyab.bžer.gyi.mchi . . . [A 2] gsol.baḥ |

"Nag-khrid regiment: petition of Rgyab-bžer."

Nag-śod-kyi-sde (Nag-śod, a district in the Nob region).

89. M.I., xxviii, 0034 (wood, c. 7–7·5 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | Nag | Ḥa.kog.Bor |
[2] śod.sde | | rtsan |

"Nag-śod regiment: Ḥa-kog Bor-rtsan."

Further mention in M.I., ii, 32; xiv, 76 and 124 and 129 (quoted *supra*). On the surname *Ḥa-kog*, see p. 561.

Ñag-tsveḥi-sde

90. M. Tāgh., 0573 (wood, c. 13·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l., l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

༄ | : | Ñag.[tshveḥi].sde : rṅa : Ḥbur . lod |

"Ñag-tshve regiment: *rṅa* Ḥbur-lod."

Rṅa = "drum" or "camel"? Cf. p. 389.

91. H. 3 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; l. 1 *verso* in a somewhat different hand).

[A 1] ༄ || Ñag [tsh]veḥi.sde.Skyar.Klu.gzigs | daṅ. res.kyi.s[ṅa].thus [A 2] Lde . . . gyi.sṅa.thus.khyiḥi.lo.pā |
[B] Śiṅ.śan.

"Ñag-tshve regiment: with Skyar Klu-gzigs in succession first called up Lde . . . the first called up of the Dog year. Śiṅ-śan."

Ṅam-ru-pag-gi-sde (Nam-ru district in Tibet?).

92. M. Tāgh. c. i, 007 (wood, c. 13·5–14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | . | Ṅam.ru.pagi.sde.śeḥu.Klu.brtan

"Ṅam-ru-pag regiment · *śeḥu* Klu-brtan."

On *śeḥu* see *supra*, p. 389.

Further mention in 0263, 0522; i, 0015; a. v, 002 and 0031; c. ii, 0042; v, 0036 (quoted *supra*) and a. iv, 0033; b. ii, 0038; c. ii, 009; c. iii, 005; c. iv, 0040.

• *Ñen-kar-gyi-sde* (Gñen-dkar, a Thousand-district of Lañs, in N.E. Tibet).

93. M. Tāgh., 0193 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] Ñen kar gyi kho.ñam.Ña.legs |

[A 2] sde

[B 1] rtse.rje.chu ñuḥi.sug.[rje]d.ḥtshal.žiṅ.khrom.du [B 2] mchis |

" Ñen-kar regiment : *kho-ñam* Ña-legs, in the city desiring a commission as Under-Chief "

On *kho-ñam(n)* and *sug-rjed* see pp. 390, 491.

94. M Tāgh a. vi, 0014 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

|| Ñen kar.gyi sde Ldog.ge.Lha.skyes |

" Ñen kar regiment *Ldog-ge* Lha-skyes."

Ld(Rt)og-ge is a surname, recurring elsewhere.

95. M Tāgh c iv, 0029 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2 cm, slightly broken away at bottom, hole for string at r.; l 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

|| Ñen kar gi sde Dbaḥ Kha.myi |

" Ñen-kar regiment Dbaḥ Kha-myi."

On Dbaḥ, a clan name, see *supra*.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b ii, 0044 (quoted *supra*).

Ñe-mo-bag-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh c iii, 0019 (quoted *supra*).

Nos dpon - mthon - khyab - kyi - sde (" Direction - commander Watch tower regiment ")

M I, xiv, 0012 (quoted *supra* p 543).

• *Phod-kar-gyi-sde* (Phod dkar, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tshab, in N.E. Tibet)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh, 0291 and b. i, 0095 (quoted above); also (?) in 0302.

Rgod-ldiṅ-gi-sde (Rgod-ldiṅ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 41 and 135 (quoted *supra*) and 008.

Rgod-tsan-smad-gi-sde (Lower Rgod-tsaṅ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 006, 39, 41; xxvii, 9; lviii, 004 (quoted *supra*).

Rgod-tsaṅ-stod-kyi-sde (Upper Rgod-tsaṅ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., iv, 85; xiv, 108d; xliv, 7 (quoted *supra*).

Rluṅ-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0035.

Rtsal-mo-pag-gi-sde

96. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0013 (wood, c. 10·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ | Rtshal.mo.pag.gi.sde | sñaḥ.śur Stag.la.re

[B] Pyi.rtse |

"Rtsal-mo-pag regiment. *sña-śur* Stag-la-re. Pyi-rtse (*a place-name*)."

On *sñaḥ-śur* see *supra*, p. 389.

Another mention in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*, *Rtsal*°).

Rtse-thon-gyi-sde (Rtse-thon, in the Nob region).

97. M.I., xvi, 22 (paper, fol. No. 57 in vol., c. 26 × 4 cm., discoloured and irregularly torn away all round; ll. 4 (and some vowel signs of another) *recto* + 3 (and some lower parts of a preceding one) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint.

Rtse.ḥthon.gyi.sde.Tor.ḥgu.Maṅ.skyes.la

"To Tor-ḥgu Maṅ-skyes, of the Rtse-ḥthon regiment."

Tor-ḥgu is probably a surname.

Further mention in M.I., xv, 0012 (quoted 1928, p. 589).

Śaṅ-sde (named, perhaps, after the Lop-nor kingdom of Śaṅs or Mo-Śaṅs or the Tibetan Śaṅs Thousand-district).

98. M. Tāgh., i, 0025 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm. complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | Śaṅ.sde. Dbaḫ. Myes. tshab |

"Śaṅ regiment: the Dbaḫ Myes-tshab."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0031, and c. ii, 0046 (quoted *supra*) and in c. i, 005, c. iii, 0044).

Skyi-stod-kyi-sde (possibly = Skyid-stod, a Thousand-district in Tibet, but see 1927, p. 816).

99. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0027 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ . | . Sky[i].stod.gyi sde.kho nan.Chas.zigs [1]

"Upper Skyi regiment: *kho-nan* Chas-zigs."

On *kho-nan* see *supra*, p. 389

Further mention in M. Tāgh a. ii, 0078 (quoted *supra*).

Ste-ḫjam-sde (Ste-ḫjam, a Thousand-district in E. Tibet).

100. M Tāgh a. iii, 0026 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm, complete; hole for string at r., ll 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❁ : | Ste.ḫjom.(sde ?).gśen.Phan.legs.gyi

[2] slag pá thum.po.bżag |

"Ste-ḫjom regiment. thick (*ḫthug-po*, or packed, *thum*) fur-coat of *gśen* Phan-legs delivered."

On *gśen* see pp. 389 90; on *bżag*. pp 393, 539.

Spyin rtsan-gi-sde

101 M Tāgh c ii, 0016 (wood, c. 11–11·5 × 1 5–2 cm., complete, hole for string at r., l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | Spyi[ṅ ?].rtsaṅ gi sde. | se.[G]u.btsan.bā

"Spyiṅ-rtsaṅ regiment *se* Gu-btsan-ba (*or* se-gu Btsan-ba ?)"

On *se* see *supra*, p. 389.

Tshaṅ-mi sde (Perhaps - Rtsaṅ-mi, i e. Chitrāl).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. 0513 (quoted *supra*, 1930, p. 58).

Yan-rtsan-gi-sde

102. M Tāgh. c iv. 002 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❁ || Yaṅ rtsaṅ.gi sde gu rib Nags.rye.sgor |

[1] *s* below line

[2] had.ba.ži.pa |

"Yan-rtsan regiment: in the house of *gu-rib* (slave ?) Ṅags-rye . . ."

103. M. Tāgh., 0262 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 (in a different hand and for the most part erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | : | Yaṅ.rtsaṅ.gi | ḫjor.Myes.slebs |
[A 2] sde

[B 1] ༄ | : | Yaṅ.[rtsa]ṅ.gi.sde.-e...n.mchi..
[B 2] naṅ.rje.po[1] m[ch]id.gso(l)

"Yaṅ-rtsaṅ regiment: *ḫjor* Myes-slebs. Yaṅ-rtsaṅ regiment. letter petition of . . . [to the] Home Minister."

Ḫjor is probably a title: see p. 389.

Further mention in M. Tāgh., 0050, a. iv, 00121; b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*); and a. iii, 0021.

Yar-skyan-gi-sde ("Yarkand regiment").

104. M. Tāgh., 0544 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || Yar.skyaṅ.gi.sde | Pu.bag yul.mthoṅ. |

"Yar-skyaṅ regiment. Pu-bag, local surveyor"

On *Pu-bag* see *supra*, p. 556. *Yul-mthoṅ* is perhaps used as a surname, here and 1928, p. 585.

105. M. Tāgh, 0280 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at top l.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | . | Yar.skyaṅ gi.sde.spun.drug.Legs.

"Yan-skyaṅ regiment: six brothers Legs."

(So correct *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085).

* *Yel-rab-kyi-sde* (Yel-rab, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet).

106. M. Tāgh., 1616 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

༄ | : | Ye[l].rab.gyi.sde. | Lo.Legs.sroṅ.la (sroṅs ?)

"Yel-rab regiment: (to) Lo Legs-sron[s]."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0038.

[1] Three syllables apart and in a different hand.

* *Zom-sde* (High Zom, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet).

107. M.I., xiv, 0061 (wood, c. 7.5 × 2 cm., broken away at r. and at top; remains of hole for string at r.; traces of l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script.)

[❤ || Zom.sde.bl- n | ?]

"Zom regiment . . ."

Note that Zom seems to be different from the *Ḥdzom* of the Nob region: see *Ḥdzom-smad(stod)-kyi-sde* (*supra*).

. . . *dan-phyiṅ-poḥi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0097.

. . . *mkhar-gyi-sde* (= *Man-khar-gyi-sde* ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh, 0289

The Origin of Banking in Mediaeval Islam: A contribution to the economic history of the Jews of Baghdad in the tenth century

By WALTER FISCHEL

(*Concluded from p. 352.*)

V. The Activities of the Court Bankers

IF we describe as bankers persons whose profession it is to administer, procure, and supply money,[1] then we are indeed entitled to count Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram as bankers in a quite modern sense, and in view of their almost exclusive dealings with the Court and its officials, as Court Bankers in fact as well as in name.[2]

Their professional activities, to which we now turn, may be summed up under the following main categories:—

A. *Financial Transactions.*
  (*a*) Administration of Funds.
  (*b*) Remittance of Funds.
  (*c*) Supplying of Funds.

B. *Mercantile Transactions.*

A.

(*a*) *Administration of Funds.*—The Arab sources of the tenth century reveal a prodigious desire to accumulate money, a mad rush to get rich.[3] The appetite for money was only equalled by the fear of its loss.

[1] Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik II. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen, 1922, pp. 92–3; cf. also the same author's valuable *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1923, pp. 223–238.

[2] *Wuz.*, 158–9, جهابذة الحضرة.

[3] The words of a high official are a typical expression of this: "Already when I was a little boy I used to hoard all the money I received at a greengrocer's" (*Tan.*, ii).

This phenomenon will be discussed fully in another connection. Here it may suffice to state that officials and merchants, who were the mainstays of this money economy,[1] were afraid of the interference of the State, which was able to gain possession of private property easily by the then so universal method of confiscation.[2]

This feeling of fear and uncertainty caused people to look for the safest place in which to keep their money. To this end the oddest ways and methods were invented. Gold and silver were hidden under the soil,[3] in wells,[4] in cisterns,[5] in barns,[6] among clothes, etc. Money was even invested in jewellery and trinkets, as well as other articles of luxury,[7] only in order to prevent the State from snatching away one's not always honestly gained lucre.[8] Real estate owners could

[1] *Vide* the sociologically instructive passage in *Tan.*, i, p. 243. Mez, l.c., p. 442, says rightly "Im 9/10 Jahrhundert ist der reiche Kaufmann geradezu der Träger der jetzt materiell anspruchsvoll gewordenen mohammedanischen Kultur."

[2] As to the meaning of this word and the evolution of its signification, *vide* Cl. Huart, *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiii (1909), pp. 856–7, and A. Fischer, *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiv (1910), pp. 481–4. I deal at length with the institution of a *dīwān al muṣādara* in my *Beiträge*.

[3] *Misk.*, 416; *Misk.*, ii, 11–12, 74, 187. After the death of the Emir Abû'l Husain Bachkam a list was made of all the places where his money was hidden.

[4] *Tan.*, ii, 210, tells us that more than 80,000 dīnārs were taken out of a well belonging to a merchant (رجل تاجر). Even the privy was used as a hiding place for money, *vide* the detailed and amusing story in *Tan.*, i, 15–16. Other evidence in *Misk.*, 102, where the Vizier himself is said to have hidden in cesspools no less than half a million dīnārs. *Vide* also *Tan.*, i, 272.

[5] Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, pp. 39–40.

[6] *Misk.*, 230; this method is still in use in Algeria. Cf. on this A. Ruehl, *Vom Wirtschaftsgeist im Orient*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 42.

[7] Tanūkhī, *Faraj ba'd ash Shidda*, i, 113; ii, 17. Cf. C. H. Becker, *Ägypten im Mittelalter, Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, i, p. 183: "Ausserdem war eine grosse Garderobe eine nicht zu verachtende Geldanlage in einer Zeit, der noch die Thesaurierung der Wertobjekte für sicherer galt als das Arbeitenlassen des Kapitals."

[8] Naturally, immense fortunes simply disappeared because after their owners' death nobody knew where their treasures were hidden; and on the other hand, great treasures were often discovered by mere chance. *Vide Misk.*, 299.

protect themselves against the danger of loss by constituting their landed property a Waqf,[1] whereby they at least could enjoy the revenue derived therefrom without fear. But what could be done with money hoards?[2]

In addition to hiding their money in the ground and elsewhere, people began to deposit it with prominent persons,[3] merchants,[4] and above all with professional money-dealers or bankers. This way was chiefly used by the high officials themselves and the Viziers of the Caliphs. The bankers and money-changers, whose profession it was to engage in money transactions, were for that very reason considered to be the proper, safe, and reliable people to entrust with one's fortune.[5]

So the habit was adopted by every Vizier of the age of al-Muqtadir to have his own money-keeper, his own particular banker.[6] Naturally, care was taken not to have such deposits entered in books.[7] Thus b. al-Furāt is said to have deposited huge sums with merchants[8] and clerks, without letting it be known.[9] Another official, for reasons of security, deposited

[1] For the Waqf as a measure against confiscation *vide* von Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, p. 16, Becker, *Beiträge*, p. 266 ff., and *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, i, p. 62; also W. Bjoerkman, "Kapitalentstehung und Anlage im Islam, Berlin," *MSOS*, ii, 1930, pp. 80–98.

[2] When the chamberlain Naṣr heard that he was to be arrested, he first of all hastened to deposit his money with others (*Misk.*, 117).

[3] *Vide Misk.*, 102, 68, *Irshād*, i, 70, v, 350. *Ecl.*, iii, 262.

[4] *Misk.*, 44; *Wuz.*, 74.

[5] That they were by no means absolutely safe is evident from *Misk.*, 257. Baridi, the governor of Ahwāz, had the bankers' houses looted (دور الصيارف) and took all the money that was found there, the bankers' own as well as that of their clients. As to صيارفة cf. the lexica. Cf. also the story in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo, 1308, i, 208.

[6] The banker of Ibn al-Furāt was Aaron b. Amram, as well as Joseph b. Phineas. Ibrāhīm is said to have been the banker of Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās (*Misk.*, 95; *Wuz.*, 62, 12; *Wuz.*, 225). 'Alī b. 'Isa also had his own ناقد named b. Abī 'Isa (*Wuz.*, 291_4 and 224). A جهبذ of the Vizier al-Khasībī is also mentioned in *Misk.*, 155.

[7] *Vide*, for instance, *Wuz.*, 23, also *Wuz.*, 79–80, and *Tan.*, ii, 83–5.

[8] These "merchants" mean the two Jewish court bankers, v.i., the section "Mercantile Transactions", p. 583.

[9] *Misk.*, 44.

a sum of 10,000 dinārs at a banker's without having it entered either on the debit or on the credit page of his books.[1] The important revenue-farmer and later Vizier Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās deposited with the banker Ibrāhīm b. Yuḥanna a sum of 100,000 gold dinārs.[2] In the year 927, 10,000 dīnārs belonging to the Vizier al-Khaṣībī were found partly in strong boxes, partly in the custody of his *jahbadh*.[3]

It is only natural that our two Jewish bankers should also be charged with such deposits. As court bankers they must have been considered particularly reliable and safe. Their clients[4] were mostly Viziers, and particularly the Vizier b. al-Furāt, of whose deposits with the Jewish banking firm we hear many other interesting things.

Thus b. al-Furāt, after his fall as Vizier, was finally forced to confess that he had deposited a sum of 160,000 dīnārs (consisting of *māl al-muṣādara*) with Aaron b. Amram and his son.[5] The Caliph al-Muqtadir summoned these two bankers, who confirmed the existence of this deposit and, at the Caliph's order, conveyed the money to his privy purse.[6]

We hear of other deposits of Ibn al-Furāt with the Jewish bankers (الجهبذين اليهوديين) which he had to confess in the course of the inquiry that was instituted against him. The Jews were obliged to convey the money to the public exchequer.[7]

Closely connected with their function of administering funds was the employment of this Jewish banking house as an address for certain illegal monies destined for the account of b. al-Furāt. Here, too, b. al-Furāt was the first to have

[1] *Tan.*, i, 103–4. [2] *Misk.*, 95; *Wuz.*, 226.

[3] *Misk.*, 158. Here both methods of treasuring money had been used.

[4] From other money transactions it is clear that their clients were always courtiers, Viziers, high officials, etc.

[5] *Misk.*, 128. This is the only place that mentions Aaron b. Amram together with his son (v. s., p. 350, n. 1).

[6] *Wuz.*, 124. A parallel version in *Misk.*, 128, shows only slight variations.

[7] *'Arib*, 74, 13 ff.

funds (so-called "bribery money")[1] remitted directly to Aaron b. Amram,[2] who credited them to the former's account. The Vizier, of course, avoided creating any evidence of the existence of such an account in the form of book-keeping entries.[3]

We also learn from *Wuz.*, 78–80, and *Tan.*, ii, 82–84,[4] that this greedy Vizier had yet another money transaction with the Jewish bankers Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phineas, which even led to a sort of legal inquiry against them. Here we are told in a very detailed manner how the Vizier increased his wealth by transmitting confiscated funds (*māl al-muṣādara*) not to the Caliph's privy purse or to the public exchequer[5] as he should have done, but to his own secret account which he had opened with the Jewish banking firm. We owe to this passage not only further information on the bankers' function of administering funds,[6] but also rather an interesting insight into the way in which the *jahbadh* used to keep his accounts,

[1] Cf. H F. Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration in its Decay," *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 834–5. *Māl almarāfiq* was legitimate according to the financial morality of the time.

[2] *Wuz.*, 334.

[3] In view of the fact that the Hebrew characters were employed in the bulk of Jewish-Arabic writings of the Middle Ages, including Gaonic literature, it might not be out of place to consider whether the account-books of these court bankers were kept in the Hebrew or in the Arabic script. Jewish court bankers of mediaeval Europe, we are told, kept their books not only in the Hebrew script but sometimes in the Hebrew language, and then had them translated into Latin (cf M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden*, p. 117). There is an instance on record even from the sphere of modern Islam Between the years 1825–7 Jews were engaged as bankers of the Pasha at Damascus. They had a monopoly of all government banking business. Upon their dismissal as the result of intrigues their successors were unable to carry on the Pasha's business because their books had been kept in the Hebrew script. *Vide Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1922, p. 600 ff., and my monograph based thereon, which will appear shortly.

[4] The differences between the two versions of the text need not be taken into consideration here, as they do not affect the substance.

[5] See on these two institutions my *Beiträge zur Geschichte der islamischen Finanzverwaltung*.

[6] This passage, too, gives us an idea of the very considerable sums that passed through their hands.

and how these accounts were controlled by the Government.[1] For these bankers had to furnish a detailed report and a statement of all the funds that had been entrusted to them in connection with the inquiry carried out against the Vizier b. al-Furāt.[2]

(b) *Remittance of Funds.*—Our bankers not only took charge of deposits and administered funds, but also transmitted money. We must remember that in these times the endorsement of bills was already coming into use. In the tenth century it was customary to pay debts not in cash only, but to settle them by means of letters of credit. For such letters of credit or cheques the expression *suftaja* (سفتجة) was used.[3] The purpose of this *suftaja* was to convey money from place to place without incurring the risk of transport.[4] It was thus a means of avoiding payments in coin to distant places. By means of such a *suftaja*, whose very essence is transaction at a distance,[5] the tradesman was able to carry

[1] Apparently the control of the books of the *jahbadh* by the government implies the official character of this office.

[2] The text uses the expression ختمات for these reports. We find the same expression in connection with the activities of a *jahbadh* in *Misk.*, 155, 158, 164–6. It shows that these *khatamāt* were kept in the Vizier's Dīwān. What is meant by ختمات is explained by the *Kitāb Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. Vloten, p. 54. *Vide* also *Tan.*, i, 42, 109, 176. The *jahbadh* had to write detailed receipts for all money matters (روز).

[3] Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, s.v., renders the expression with "Kreditbrief". Belot, *Vocab.*, with "lettre de change"; Amedroz (*Gloss.*, p. 62) with "bill of exchange". The economic and legal nature of the *suftaja* is the object of detailed explanations by the Arab lexicographers. *Vide* *Lisān al-'Arab*, iii, 123; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, ii, p. 59; *al-Qāmūs*, i, 299; *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, i, p. 952; Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, i, 636–7.

[4] For the whole question see R. Grasshoff, *Die suftaǵa und ḥawāla der Araber*, Göttingen, 1899, pp. 1–36. The language of to-day uses *ḥawāla*, not *suftaja*. In modern Arab commercial parlance the old Arab terms have been replaced by European loanwords, such as *bulīsa*, *kambiala*, *jird*, *kōmbiyāl*, etc.

[5] According to L. Goldschmidt, *Universalgeschichte des Handelsrechts*, Stuttgart, 1891, pp. 403–4, the essence of a bill transaction is the real or ideal movement of sums of money. According to the conception of mediaeval law a difference of place between remitter and remittee is indispensable to a bill of charge.

larger amounts with him or to convey them without incurring the risk which in the case of cash was considerable in these days.[1] Thus we hear that a man made a long journey with two servants and a guide, while his earthly riches consisted only of *suftajas* for 5,000 dīnārs.[2]

Money presents were brought from the Ahwāz province to the Caliph's mother in the form of a *suftaja* for the amount of 3,000 dīnārs.[3] Even bribes were paid in this way.[4]

The new Arab sources show very clearly a widespread use of that easy and riskless method of payment,[5] which simplified the manifold mercantile relations of the 'Abbāsid empire of those times and was very useful for the rapid and safe settlement of business matters. R. Grasshoff's opinion, "Ganz versagen für die Erforschung der inneren Beschaffenheit des arabischen Handels und damit für die Erkenntnis der Funktionen der suftaǵa die Historiker des Islams," is therefore now out of date.[6]

But the contemporary Jewish sources, too, i.e. the Gaonic Responsa, throw light on the functions and scope of the *suftaja*.[7]

For instance, the money for the Babylonian academies was conveyed from Kairuwān [8] to Sura or Pumbadita by means of such letters of credit, and it can be assumed that other

[1] *Vide Misk*, 219, where a ship (شذاة, cf. Lane, *Dict*, s.v) carrying the revenues of Ahwāz to Baghdad is robbed (year 319/931).

[2] *Tan.*, i, 104, 5.

[3] *Tan.*, i, 105.

[4] *Tan*, i, 103. Further proofs in our texts: *Tan.*, i, 90, 93; ii, 680, etc.; *Wuz.*, 93 ff.

[5] We learn the same thing from Arab papyrus fragments; cf. H. C. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhard*, Heidelberg, 1906, i, p. 11.

[6] Ibid, p. 10.

[7] Cf. A. Harkavy, *Teshuboth ha-Geonim: Studien und Mitteilungen*, Berlin, 1887, iv, No. 423 (pp. 216, 316), No. 548 (p. 209), No. 552 (pp. 273–4). All the responsa dealing with *suftaja* are written in Arabic and not in Hebrew. Harkavy renders the word *suftaja* by "Wechselschein" or "Anweisung", p. 316, No. 6.

[8] Cf. now also J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati, i, 1931, pp. 143–4.

far-off communities employed the same method.[1] This *suftaja*-system was a source of legal problems for the Jewish authorities, as, for instance, the question whether, according to Talmudic civil law, a legal claim was possible in case such a letter of credit was lost. The Gaon's answer was that the principles of Talmudic civil law did not admit the legality of a claim in case of loss But as the Beth Din saw that such letters of credit continued to be used, it finally took up such claims in order not to hinder the commercial relations among merchants[2]

This *suftaja*-system not only furthered private commerce and communication,[3] but also helped to simplify and to rationalize the financial administration of the government. For now these letters of credit also were used as a means of sending the taxes from the provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire to the public exchequer in Baghdad.[4] Our sources tell us that in 916 the public exchequer in Baghdad contained *amwāl suftāij* that had come from Fars, Iṣfahān, and the Eastern provinces[5] 'Alī b 'Īsā, who was then the financial inspector of Egypt and Syria, had 147,000 dīnārs of taxes sent by his chamberlain from Egypt to Baghdad by means of *suftajas*.[6]

The revenue farmers of Ahwāz,[5] of Iṣfahān,[5] and Fars also

[1] On *suftajas* from Basra to Baghdad, v. Harkavy, ibid, Nos 548, 552. On later conditions of trade and cheques in Basra, cf. the evidence of Nāṣir-i Khusrau, ed Schefer, p. 64 Cf Mez, ibid, 447 ff

[2] Harkavy, ibid, No 423, apud J Mann in *JQR*, x, p. 324 For the illegality of the *suftaja* according to Islamic theory, cf. Th. W Juynboll, *Handbuch d islamischen Gesetzes*, 1910, p. 274 It was regarded as a kind of loan, which resulted in an illicit benefit to the parties

[3] A typical piece of evidence for the flourishing state of commerce and the communications of *suftajas* is *Ecl.*, iii, pp. 138–9, towards the end of the tenth century "What a marvellous sight to see a bill of change ([illegible]) on a commercial enterprise drawn in the enemy's country! If this is a source of pride, then the merchants are more powerful than the Viziers in East and West, for the former draw bills on high amounts . . . that are accepted with more readiness than tribute and land-tax."

[4] *Misk.*, 43.

[5] *Misk.*, 187.

[6] *Wuz.*, 296; *Misk.*, 146; v also *Ibn Sa'id*, ed. Tallquist, p. 32.

made use of this *suftaja*-system and chose this way of sending their money to the public exchequer. It seems that there were special messengers (فيج) whose task it was to carry the letters with the *suftaja* to Baghdād.[1]

In any case, this system of payment seems to have been so common and familiar also in the accounting offices of the treasury department that the author of the work *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, in explaining the 'Abbāsid administrative terminology, has nothing to say to the word *suftaja* but معروف "is well known."[2]

These letters of credit, that were sent to the public exchequer from various eastern and western provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire, had of course to be cashed and exchanged. It happened not unfrequently that *suftajas* were left uncashed in the public exchequer or in the Vizier's archives and were simply forgotten because of the responsible official's negligence. The Arab sources mention several cases of such a muddled management of the exchequer.[3]

It nevertheless can be assumed that they were cashed in most cases. Our texts do not tell us very much about the methods of cashing, neither do we learn how the governmental accounting offices dealt with the *suftaja* in their accounts. But it can hardly be doubted that the settlement of *suftaja* business was connected primarily with those officials who were employed as *jahbadh*. This may be inferred from the case of the kindred institution of *ṣakk* (صك).[4]

The bankers were the natural money-changers and agents in such payments, and must have played an important part

[1] *Misk.*, 150.

[2] Ed. v. Vloten, Leyden, 1895, p. 62.

[3] Cf. *Misk.*, 23; 262, 2, 350.

[4] Cf. primarily *Irshād*, 385, 399, also *Wuz.*, 73, 77, 235; *Misk.*, 158, 8; ii, 80 (صك على الجهبذ); b. Hauqal, 42, 70. *Vide* G. Jacob, "Die ältesten Spuren des Wechsels," *MSOS.*, 1925, pp. 280–1; *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, pp. 56–7. Cf. Dīwān of Ibn al Mu'tazz (*ZDMG.*, 40, p. 581; vol. xli, p. 250). *Tan.*, i, 109; *Ecl.*, iii, 46 ff., 119.

whenever such letters of credit were exchanged. Among others, our sources mention transactions of that kind by the Jewish bankers.[1] In reading the following lines we get the impression of a quite modern money order :—

"The Vizier b. al-Furāt then opened his ink-pot and wrote an order to his banker (*jahbadh*) Aaron b. Amram, telling him to pay from his account and without any further admonition 2,000 dīnārs to Abu'l Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa, as a subvention towards payment of a fine imposed upon him. Muḥassin b. al-Furāt also ordered his banker to pay this 'Ali b. 'Isa 1,000 dīnārs[2] from his account that was in Aaron b. Amram's bank "[3]

This money conveyance business, conducted in cash as well as by means of *suftajas*, must also have been a source of income to the bankers, and it may be supposed that they got a certain commission for cashing *suftaja* as we know them to have got one for cashing *sakk*.[4] The relationship between our court bankers and the *suftaja* system can also be inferred from the fact that the Vizier deposited unpaid *suftajas* with the Jewish bankers Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram as security for a considerable loan that the Vizier wanted to obtain from them But this leads us already to another, to the most important of their business activities.

(c) *Supplying of Funds* —As the money needs of the Caliph and the State became more and more considerable, the rapid supply of funds, especially for military purposes, became urgently necessary.

[1] *Mişk*., 112

[2] In a parallel version in *Wuz*., 306-307, which is characterized by a divergent terminology, the expression اخذ الدواة فوقع الى is nevertheless the same as in *Mişk*., 112, and seems to have been a fixed administrative phrase, we have it also in *Tan*., i, 43

[3] The newly appointed Vizier thus helps the fallen Vizier to bear his fine, which is rather a strange practice It was probably the result of the Vizier's realisation that the same fate might very soon be his own. Cf. C. H Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, p. 205.

[4] The usual rate seems to have been one dirham per dinār.

These extraordinary money needs gave birth to various methods of money supply. The method of revenue farming, of indirect levying of taxes was already employed as an excellent way of overcoming financial difficulties. The revenue farmer had to pay the Caliph a certain fixed lump sum, and he moreover undertook to pay the State partly in advance, thus enabling it to obtain cash quickly. But other ways were also used against financial crises. New departments and offices were created, the administration was divided and subdivided into numberless offices and functions, not from administrative, but from purely financial motives, i.e. in order to increase the revenue of the State by selling such posts. The selling of offices to the highest bidder was a frequent occurrence, as was also the sale of crown lands and the arbitrary confiscation of private fortunes. The Caliph's privy purse was squeezed to the last farthing, so that it could no longer be considered as a reserve fund against emergencies. The Viziers, the responsible chancellors of the empire's exchequer, could hardly find any way out; for even the systematic economies of 'Ali b. 'Isa, which reduced salaries, pensions, and other expenses, were not able to balance the budget.

It probably was in this situation that the idea arose of calling in the aid of the Jewish bankers in consolidating the finances of the State. We are entitled to infer from the picture the sources present of Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phineas, that their importance for the financial economy of al-Muqtadir's empire lay in their capacity as privileged money-suppliers and money-lenders This was really the centre of gravity of their business activity, far surpassing in significance all the other financial activities discussed above.

We are able to reconstruct their functions as money suppliers in many of their details, with the help of our Arab sources.

We know of three instances of credits being extended to the State by these financiers.

(1) In *Wuz.*, 178 $_{18-20}$, we hear that the Vizier b. al-Furāt,

during his first vizierate,[1] called the Jewish banker (*al-jahbadh al-yahūdī*) Joseph b. Phineas,[2] who is designated as جهبذ الاهواز, and asked him for an advance of money in order to cover expenditure on the officials of Ahwāz for two months (*māl shahrain*). It was indicated that as official tax-collector of the province of Ahwāz he had sufficient guarantees in the form of later taxes.[3] But Joseph b. Phineas was not so readily induced to grant the loan. Nevertheless, as the report continues, b. al-Furāt did not stop arguing with him until he finally assented and granted on the self-same day a loan for a month. Of course, b. al-Furāt without delay ordered his servant to fetch the amount from Joseph b. Phineas.

(2) The Vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā, too, was obliged to ask the Jewish bankers for a loan in order to consolidate the public budget. He addressed them as follows[4]:—

"Do you want to avoid my inflicting penalties on you[5] that may affect you and your heirs (عليكما وعلى ورثتكما) for ever?[6] I shall only refrain from it in consideration of a matter that will cause you no damage whatever. At the beginning of each month I need an amount of 30,000 dīnārs, which must be paid within the first six days to the infantry troops.[7] However,

[1] Probably about the year 311.

[2] The text reads يوسف بن فنحاس.

[3] Only Joseph b. Phineas is mentioned here as جهبذ الاهواز. Cf., however, *Wuz.*, 81. 4, and *Tan.*, ii, where both Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are referred to as connected with جهبذة الاهواز.

[4] This and the following passage exist in two versions, but they do not show any important changes (*Wuz.*, 80[21]-81[4], *Tan.*, ii, 84[16]-85[2]).

[5] The Vizier merely used this threat in order to force the Jewish bankers to comply his aim. For that they were not culpable is evident from the whole course of events (which cannot be reviewed here owing to considerations of space), v.s., p. 373.

[6] The expression "you and your heirs" permits of inferences being drawn as to the organization of the banking firm (v.s., p. 350).

[7] Loans were usually occasioned by urgent expenditure for military purposes. That it was just military expenditure that rendered a loan necessary is not accidental. The need of capital for army purposes weighed

I am usually not in possession of such a sum, neither on the first nor on the second day of the month. I want you, therefore, to advance on the first of each month a loan of 150,000 dirhams, an amount that you, as you know, will get back in the course of the month from the Ahwāz revenue. For the administration of the Ahwāz revenue belongs to you (جهبذة الاهواز اليكما), and these moneys (from Ahwāz) are a permanent advance of money to you, to which I am going to add (as security) the amount of 20,000 dīnārs that are payable every month by Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās.[1] This will be the compensation for the first instalment [and I shall be relieved of a heavy burden]." [2]

The two bankers, so we hear, made at first difficulties and intended to refuse,[3] but the Vizier did not stop urging them until they gave their consent.

(3) In his request to this banking firm to give him a loan, the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa could offer the future revenue from the province of Ahwāz and other sources of income as securities and guarantees. But we also hear about another application for a loan by this Vizier—probably during his first vizierate, in the year 913—to the same banking firm, in which a fiscal method appears that had probably not been used by anyone before in the course of 'Abbāsid financial policy.

"When the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa had to make payments for which he had no funds, he would take from the merchants [4]

most heavily on the budget. So that it was just in the financing of the army that the credit system developed entirely new methods. The influence of the troops, mostly Turkish mercenaries, on the administration as a whole kept steadily increasing.

[1] Here the *muṣādara* of this dismissed Vizier is referred to. Cf. on him, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s v.

[2] The words in brackets are only to be found in at-Tanūkhi.

[3] The difficulties at first made by the two bankers here, too, show that they did not have at that time much faith in the solvency of the State. The refusal of merchants or bankers to give money to the State often led, however, to deeds of violence. Cf. for a later instance, *Ecl.*, iii, p. 282.

[4] *Vide* above, p. 348, on the name of "merchants" by which the two Jewish bankers were designated.

(*at-tujjār*) a loan (استسلاف) of 10,000 dīnārs, the security for which consisted of letters of credit (*suftaja*) which had come in from the provinces, but were not yet due, and by giving interest at the rate of 1½ silver dānaqs on the dīnār, which made the amount of 2,500 dirhams a month. This arrangement was made with Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram and their successors (ومن قام مقامهما)[1] for the period of sixteen years [and after their death]."[2]

In this agreement we have no less than the taking of a well-covered long-term loan by the government from the Jewish bankers, that was carried out with all the elements of an almost modern banking technique, and this—more than a full millennium ago! Without going into details about this document, attention must be called to some particulars that are of importance for the history of finance generally, not only for that of the 'Abbāsid state, namely —

(*a*) The negotiation of a state loan as such.[3]

(*b*) The payment of interest.[4]

[1] Note this expression and the already mentioned "heirs".

[2] *Nis.*, 81, 8-13, *Tan.*, ii, 85, 4 8 Cf v Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, p. 16

[3] The method of avoiding a financial crisis by taking up a loan seems to have become usual only at this period A history of government loans in 'Abbāsid times, which ought to be written, would comprise all the methods of getting money (على سبيل القرض, cf *Misk.*, 164, 213, 220, *Ecl.*, iii, 159, 259 ff.). This method was also employed later on in the reign of the Caliph ar-Rāḍi by the Vizier b Muqla (on this Vizier, v the study of A H Harley in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 1923–5, iii, p 213 ff), who obtained a loan (قرض) from the merchants, but was not able to pay it back, so that he had to give them bills on certain revenues and sell them crown lands (*Misk.*, 329 cf *Misk.*, 299). This is the origin of Islamic feudalism, as will be shown in detail later on For loans in Egypt of that period, cf C H Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1900, pp 38-9, 56 Mez, ibid., 123, 450

[4] 'Alī b. 'Īsa was probably the first to obtain a loan by paying interest. Cf. v Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, pp 7, 24, 63. The usual interest rate was a dirham for each dīnār, at which rate Abu Bekr b Qarāba granted a loan to the Vizier (*Misk.*, 213, 220) According to *Tan.*, i, 204, a money-changer (صيرفي) charges a commission rate of 1 dirham per dīnār. In our

(c) The pledging of uncashed letters of credit as security.

(d) The state's entering into an agreement with a Jewish banking house.

B. *Mercantile Transactions*

In reviewing the financial transactions of these court bankers generally, as our sources represent them, it must occur to one to ask: How were they enabled to meet the very considerable money requirements of the State? For even if we admit that the guarantees and securities they received, as, for instance, the revenues of Ahwāz, were cashed in due course, we still must wonder whence they derived such immense money reserves of liquid cash. What, then, were the sources of their wealth?

Their various kinds of business, such as administration, remittance, and supplying of funds, must certainly be considered as a more or less important source of profit.[1] We may suppose that, first and foremost, the amounts deposited with them by court officials and Viziers (as we have seen, they were no small sums)[2] were not only hoarded, i.e. kept in the strict sense of the word. In all probability they were made productive, i.e. utilized as "capital" that "worked" for them.[3]

We must, however, take another source of their money into consideration, namely, the trade in goods carried on by

case the rate of interest is nearly 30 per cent. About the relation between dirham and dīnār, cf. K. W Hofmeyer, "Beiträge zur arabischen Papyrusforschung," *Islam*, iv, 1913, p. 100 ff, further instances in the books of the Arab geographers; cf also *Musk.*, 398, 3, 417, 5.

[1] It is likewise a matter of controversy whence the Jewish capitalists of mediaeval Europe derived their fortunes. Cf. for the various theories on this, accumulated ground-rent, the profit on landed property or commercial undertakings—the work of M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden*, Leipzig, 1910, and W. Sombart, *Die Juden und d Wirtschaftsleben*, Leipzig, 1911.

[2] The sums of deposits only given by the Vizier b. al-Furāt amounted to millions of dīnārs. Cf *Tan.*, ii, 82–4; *Wuz.*, 79–80, etc.

[3] Thus, at a time when the unproductive treasuring of precious metals was widespread, certain circles were already using money not only as a means of storing wealth.

these "bankers". It must be remembered here that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are also expressly called "merchants" (*at-tujjār*).[1] Our sources often use the expression when they mean our *jahābidhat*. It can hardly be supposed that the authors, high administrative officials, whose profession developed the ability to distinguish sharply between departments, denominations, and titles, should simply have used the expression "*at-tujjār*" instead of *jahābidhat* for no reason. It is improbable that this is merely a case of terminological looseness; on the contrary, we are bound to infer from this difference of expression that these Jews actually dealt in merchandise as well, although it is only their financial dealings that the Arab sources show us, in all their variety and many-sidedness. However, our assumption of their having engaged in mercantile transactions is not based on terminological evidence alone, but is also justified by historical reflection. Business in money and business in goods were always closely connected, all through the Middle Ages.[2] According to W. Sombart,[3] money-lending

[1] *Wuz.*, 81, 8 ff., *Tan.*, ii, 85, 5 ff. In the work of Miskawaih the name of Joseph b. Phineas does not appear at all. *Misk.* also avoids the expression *al-jahābidha al-yahūdiyyūn* in contrast to *Wuz.*, *Tan.*, and *'Arib.* He refers to the two bankers with the more general denomination *at-tujjār*. There is no doubt, for instance, that with this word *Misk.*, 44, 66, and other passages can only mean our two bankers. This is clearly proved by a parallel version in *'Arib*, 74, where the same fact is related with the identical details, except that جهبذ is used instead of تاجر. We have, therefore, reason for regarding the words عند جماعة من التجار in *Misk.*, 44 (the Vizier b. al-Furāt had deposited considerable sums there), as well as the words in *Misk.*, 129, as referring to the Jewish banking firm with which the Vizier, as we saw above, used to deposit large amounts of money.

[2] In the Middle Ages, financial affairs were conducted by merchants. The founder of the Rothschild banking firm, too, was at first a wholesale trader. Cf. R. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*, i, Jena, 1922. J. Kulischer, *Warenhändler und Geldausleiher im Mittelalter*, p. 254, says: "Warenhandel und Geldhandel der verschiedensten Art, insbesondere das verzinsliche Darlehensgeschäft, sind im Mittelalter aufs engste miteinander verbunden. Der Kaufmann, der mit Waren handelt, ist zu gleicher Zeit auch Geldhändler, insbesondere Geldausleiher und umgekehrt."

[3] *Vide Der Bourgeois*, p. 436; ibid., *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 222. Note Sombart's saying: "Aus der Geldleihe ist der Kapitalismus geboren."

is only an evolution of trade, and the economic history of the Middle Ages furnishes many instances of the fact that finance originates in commerce. The latter created the capital for money dealings of larger scope. This process was also deeply rooted in the economic structure of the epoch in which these Court-Jews lived and worked. They probably began as merchants in the proper sense of the word, who prospered and finally turned to money affairs on a large scale. Their firm, probably at first a trading house, thus developed into a banking firm, and their purely financial undertakings gradually pushed all other commercial activities into the background.[1]

VI. The Sources of their Financial Capacity

But that these Jewish bankers, in their function of money suppliers, were not only dependent on their own capital, on the amounts deposited with them, and on the profits derived from their mercantile activities, can be seen from an Arab historical source that has only recently been made accessible to us, containing perhaps the most enlightening information on these persons and the secret of their position. In at-Tanūkhi's *Nishwār al-Muḥādara* (second volume), edited by Margoliouth[2]—and only there—we read in connection with the loan agreement made with 'Ali b. 'Isa (cf. p. 580) the following statement about these bankers.—

"For they were never dismissed until their death; and they were appointed in the days of 'Ubaidallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Khāqānī.[3] The Sultan did not want to dismiss them, in order to uphold the dignity (جاه)[4] of the office of *jahbadh*

[1] Their trade probably comprised the same articles of Oriental commerce as are mentioned in the report on the "Radanites" *Vide* J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 330, A. Mez, s v. Handel

[2] Published in *Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1930.

[3] *Vide* my proposed emendation of this statement, p 351.

[4] This Persian word is very much used in 'Abbāsid terminology; cf. *Tan.*, i, 25, 2; 26, 12, etc.

in the eyes of the merchants (التجار), so that the merchants might be ready to lend their money through the *jahbadh* if necessary. Were a *jahbadh* to be dismissed and another appointed in his place, with whom the merchants had not yet had any dealings, the business of the Caliph would come to a standstill." [1]

That it was possible to speak about the Jewish court bankers in such a way is itself sufficient to show how much they were honoured and trusted by the Caliph, and what is more important still, how indispensable they seem to have been to the Court. The part they played must really have been a very considerable one, for though the Caliph in the twenty-five years of his reign changed his Vizier no less than fifteen times, though during that period the whole administrative apparatus was subject to constant changes and the general situation was less stable than it had ever been, he did not want to dismiss them and kept them in office for life.[2]

But we owe to this passage more than this evidence alone. We could hardly have hoped for a more enlightening answer as to the *sources of their financial capacity*, their activity as creditors, and the nature of their banking business generally. For we see now that they could rely for their money-supplying on sources of capital perhaps no less important than their own fortune or the deposits they administered: the credit and confidence of other rich merchants of their time. The secret of their privileged position at Court is to be

[1] While all the passages from *Tan*[illegible] containing evidence about the Jewish bankers are also to be found in a parallel version, this particular statement is only to be found here.

[2] *Wuz.*, 224-7, furnishes a detailed list containing the names of all the high officials and personalities who were condemned to pay a fine (*muṣādara*), including names of Viziers, governors, Dīwān heads, revenue farmers, etc. It is significant that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are not mentioned, though the black list contains several persons that bore the title of *jahbadh*. This, too, can be used as an argument in favour of their privileged position at Court.

explained by their—and apparently only their—ability, by virtue of their office, their reputation, the esteem and trust they commanded, as well as their manifold connections with commercial circles—to secure from the merchants the sums of liquid money necessary for meeting the needs of the State and the Court.

What concrete details may we assume about these "merchants", the *jahābidhat's* connection with whom the Government valued so highly? The commercial activities of that time were not limited to any particular section of the population, so that, *a priori*, non-Jews are by no means excluded. Everybody was caught by the tidal wave of commercial prosperity with its chances of gain. Christians as well as Jews were bankers (جهبذ), money-changers (صيرفي), and merchants (تاجر), and so were, especially as regards the two last-mentioned classes, Mohammedans.[1]

Nevertheless it is probably primarily co-religionists of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram that are meant. This view is favoured not least by the reference in our passage to the feelings of solidarity and personal confidence by which those "merchants" are connected with the two court bankers. It was just for this psychologically important reason that the Caliph never dismissed them. For only by keeping them in office, as the text informs us, could he "uphold the dignity of their office" in the merchants' eyes and get money through them.

The factor of solidarity, which economic historians have long ago recognized as a characteristic feature of Jewish participation in economic life,[2] was here, too, a factor of

[1] Mohammedans as money-changers are mentioned i.a. in *'Arib*, 135[2], *Tan.*, i, 272; *Ecl.*, ii, 307, and in many other passages. That Mohammedans, despite the Quranic prohibition, engaged in money-lending, and in a considerable amount of speculation, particularly on crops, can be proved from numerous instances.

[2] M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, p. 7; W. Roscher, *Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 506; Kiesselbach, *Der Gang des Welthandels im Mittelalter*, p. 45; Caro, *Sozial-*

eminent importance. In the tenth century this Jewish solidarity was especially strongly developed because of the peculiar cultural and religious organization of mediaeval Jewry. We know that at this period—known in Jewish history as the Gaonic era [1]—Babylonian Jewry was in active contact with all parts of the Jewish Diaspora (Khorasan, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, etc.). This close connection was due to the position of the Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbadita, that were regarded by all these Jewish communities as their cultural centre. These relations took the form not only of a voluminous correspondence on questions of religious law between communities desirous of guidance and the spiritual head, the Gaon, but also of money contributions from abroad for the upkeep of these academies.[2] This cultural and religious hegemony of Babylonian Jewry was partly the cause and partly the result of an economic hegemony, parallel to the general economic and political supremacy of Baghdad as capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.

The merchants, connected with our court Jews, very probably included not only residents of Baghdad, or Babylonia, but also persons living in the more remote provinces of the Islamic empire. Relations with *Egypt* evidently existed.

Egypt and Babylonia were closely connected in those times, spiritually as well as economically. "Egyptian Jewry," says Mann, "no doubt received spiritual guidance

und *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1908; W. Sombart, *Die Juden u. d. Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 200 ff. J. Mann, l.c., p. 325, justly remarks: "Of great furtherance for the expansion of the Jewish trade must have been the solidarity that existed among Jews all over the Diaspora. The Hebrew language also seems to have played herein an important unifying part."

[1] For the general understanding of this historical period, v. the general well known histories of the Jews by Grätz, Dubnow, Dinaburg, Marx-Margolis, etc.

[2] "The Jews of all countries contributed generously and freely to the upkeep of the seats of learning in Babylon and in Palestine" (Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 39).

from the Babylonian Gaons and their academies . . . on the other hand, the Babylonian schools in their turn obtained a good deal of material support, especially from the numerous Babylonian co-religionists that resided in Egypt."[1]

That relations with the province of *Ahwāz* must have existed is evident not only from the fact that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram were called the bankers of that province (جهبذ الاهواز),[2] but also from the circumstance that this province was the stronghold of commercial and Jewish commercial activity.[3] Ahwāz was already in the ninth century a station and a commercial point *d'appui* for the Jewish merchants known as the "Radanites".[4] In its principal towns lived large Jewish communities which occupied an important economic position. The leading merchants

[1] J. Mann, *JQR*, x, p. 15

[2] *Vide Wuz.*, 81, 178, *Tan.*, ii, 84. Was the title of "jahbadh al-Ahwāz" bestowed upon them in virtue of their money affairs with the court or as a reward for them? The sources at any rate show them already advancing money to the State in their capacity as "jahbadh al-Ahwāz".

[3] Ahwāz was one of the most lucrative provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire; cf. *Misk.*, 335, where it is said "When the revenue of Ahwāz will stop, the empire will cease to exist" Cf also *Misk.*, 349–50.

[4] b. Chordadhbah, ed. de Goeje, *BGA.*, vi, p. 153; b. Fakīh, ed. de Goeje, *BGA*, p. 270 There is already a considerable literature on the Radanites However, no satisfactory explanation of the name has yet been given. One of the recent conjectures is that of Simonsen, who considers them to have been traders from the Rhone valley, i.e. "Rhodanici": "Il ne me paraît pas invraisemblable que les Radanites . . sont des 'Rhodanici' c'est à dire des marchands et des navigateurs du pays du Rhone," *REJ.*, 1907 (54), pp. 141–2. *Vide*—to cite a few names taken from the literature on the subject—J Schipper, *Der Anteil der Juden am europäischen Grosshandel mit dem Orient in "Heimkehr"*, ed. v. Kellner, 1912, pp. 138–172; Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande Mitteilungen des Institutes für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vi, p. 544; de Goeje, *Internationaal Handelsverkeer in de Middeleeuwen in Opuscula*, iv, Amsterdam, 1908, W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, i, p. 125 ff. Whether there existed any relations between these Jewish merchants of the ninth century coming from the West and the predecessors of our banking firm of the tenth century, we are not able to elicit from the sources.

(معظم التجار) of Tustar,[1] we are explicitly told, were Jews. In Iṣfahān, whose economic importance won for it the title of "the second Baghdad", the so-called Yahūdiyya quarter had long been known as a great centre of trade and commerce.[2] In Ahwāz[3] city, whose economic leadership is celebrated by all the Arab geographers, the Arab sources mention at that time a Jewish money-changer named Ja'qūb[4] —no doubt by reason of his prominent position—and an Isrā'īl b. Ṣāliḥ[5] and a Sahl b. Naẓīr[6] as the bankers (*jahbadh*) of the Governor al-Barīdī. Sīrāf, in the tenth century a world-port and a clearing house for trade between Yemen-Persia and China, had then a Jewish Governor by the name of "Ruzbah" (Roz-bih), the Persian equivalent of the Hebrew "Yom tob".[7]

These few data[8] alone justify the inference of a widespread international Jewish economic activity in the province of Ahwāz and other parts of the 'Abbāsid empire, and it is at least not unreasonable to seek here some of the "merchants

[1] *Misk.*, 237. The Jewish business men of Tustar are regarded as bankers not as manufacturers; cf. also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, i, pp. 29 f., 34 f. It will be recalled that the "Banu Sahl", the celebrated bankers and merchants of Egypt at the court of az-Zāhir and al-Mustanṣir in the eleventh century, were originally of Tustar. Cf. J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphate*, i, ii, 1920–2, i, 76–83, and Index.

[2] *Muqadd.*, 388, 400; b. *al Faḳīh*, 254[1], 287[15]; *Iṣṭakhrī*, 182[5], 199[6].

[3] Cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1896 ff., s.v. Index. The existence of Jewish merchants in Ahwāz is also attested by a Jewish Persian document of the year 1020; see W. Fischel in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin, 1932, vol. ix, s.v. *Jüdisch-Persisch*, p. 557 ff. Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *JQR*, xi, pp. 671–5.

[4] *Misk.*, 330.

[5] *Misk.*, 349; *Misk.*, ii, 52.

[6] *Misk.*, 349, 379. About a Sahl b. Naẓīr of the third century cf. *Tan.*, ii; *Islamic Culture*, 1930, p. 181.

[7] *Misk.*, ii, 218, 301; *Ecl.*, iii, 150. Cf. there Margoliouth's note to this passage.

[8] These quotations, given above, merely represent a few gleanings from Arab sources regarding Jewish commercial activity in the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. A further and systematic investigation on the subject is indeed one of the desiderata of Jewish historical research.

upon whom the court bankers drew for funds to finance the administration of the State.

In any case, the material we have presented clearly shows that a commercial and banking organization was in existence at the beginning of the tenth century; its centre lay in Baghdad,[1] its heads were Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, the two Jews who acted as court bankers, and who had close business connections with rich merchants—Jews or non-Jews—of Baghdad, Ahwāz, and other provinces of the Islamic empire. These all fulfilled an important function in the economic life of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, and by repeatedly supplying the indeed desperate money needs of the State, helped to stave off its ruin.

The Jewish Court Bankers in the Light of Gaonic Literature

I

With the help of these Arab sources and in the light of the data they furnish, we shall now proceed to demonstrate in a particular instance how the Arab sources may contribute to the elucidation of concrete problems of Jewish history and how a knowledge and understanding of events in Jewish history, which is based on Hebrew sources only, may be supplemented by contemporary Arab chronicles.

[1] That the Jews of Baghdad and Babylonia continued to engage in financial operations at a later period is also attested by our sources. This material, however, is reserved for another study. I only want to point out here a passage from the MS. al-Hamadhānī Takmilat Ta'rīkh aṭ-Ṭabarī (cited by Amedroz in *Misk.*, ii, pp. 8–9), where a Jewish banker Aaron is mentioned in the year 941 as the *jahbadh* of b. Shīrzād (هرون اليهودى جهبذ ابن شيرزاد) *Vide* also *Ecl.*, iii, p. 282, where a Jewish banker named Abu Ali b. Faḍlān (اليهودى) in Baghdad (998) refused to grant a loan (قرض) to the Emir Baha ad-Daulah, which led to an attack on Jews in order to get money out of them.

In 1910 L. Ginzberg published from the Oxford collection of manuscripts a Geniza fragment [1] from which we quote the following [2].

וכן כל חפץ ושאלה אשר יהיה לכם מצד
המלכות הגד תגידהו לפנינו כי אז נצוה
את בעלי בתים חשובים אשר בבגדד אשר
אנחנו יושבים בינידם בני מ"ר נטירא ובני
מ"ר אהרן זכר הנאספים לברכה חברון פליטיהם
דקימה ואז ישיבו לכם מאת המלך כאשר
יספיק יי' מעוזו בידם כן תעשו ואל תמשו.

Ginzberg's rendering of the passage is —

"And thus whenever you have transactions with the Government, I admonish you to let us know about them, that we may consult with the prominent members of the Baghdád community in the midst of which we dwell, namely, the sons of R. Netira and the sons of R. Aaron . . and then the Government [3] will deal with you according as the Lord will aid your helpers Thus do ye and not otherwise."

The task set by the publication of this fragment was to find out the author and thereby the historical position of that document and to identify the prominent Jewish personalities named in it, so far as the available data permitted.

II

The problem of the authorship gave rise to numerous suppositions L. Ginzberg [4] himself thought that R. Joseph, R. Saadya's opponent, was the author ; J. Mann [5] attributed

[1] *Geonica* (Geniza Studies) New York, 1910, ii, pp 87–8

[2] Cf also *Iggeret R Sherira Gaon*, ed by B Lewin, Haifa, 1921, p. xxv, with slight emendations

[3] Egypt was then still a province of the 'Abbásid empire, and thus subject to the central government in Baghdad

[4] Ibid., ii, pp. 422–3

[5] *JQR*, vii (1916 17), p 467

the fragment to R. Nehemia, the Gaon of Pumbadita. On the other hand, H. Malter[1] attributed it to R. Dosa, the son of R. Saadya Gaon. Finally, J. N. Epstein[2] recognized, in the light of another document (published by D. Revel)[3] in 1923 under the title *Iggeret Rab Saadya Gaon*, that the author of Ginzberg's Geniza fragment was no other than R. Saadya Gaon al-Fayyūmi, who must have sent this letter shortly after his assumption of the Gaonate, i.e. in 928, from Baghdād to Egypt.[4]

In effect, this opinion of Epstein was brilliantly confirmed by another Geniza fragment, published in the following year (1924) by B. Lewin[5] from the collection of manuscripts of Isr. Lévi (Paris). The identity of handwriting and number of lines to the page (nineteen), as well as linguistic and stylistic reasons,[6] alone sufficed to indicate that this fragment ("L") and "G" were from one and the same manuscript. But in addition the following Arabic words were to be found at the beginning of "L" as heading :—

...כ[תא]ב ראס אלמתיבה אלפיומי ז"ל
[כ]תבה בבגדאר פי וקת אן ולי אלראסה (אלריאסה?)
[רסא?]לה אלי אהל מצר.

("Letter of Fayyūmi, of blessed memory, Head of the Academy (i.e Gaon), written by him in Baghdād at the time of his appointment to the Headship as an epistle unto the people of Misr (i.e. Fustāt))[7]

[1] *R Saadia Gaon, his Life and his Works*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 113.

[2] *Debir* (דביר), a Hebrew quarterly of Jewish science, ed. I. Elbogen, J. N Epstein, and H. Torczyner, Berlin, 1923, i, p. 189

[3] *Debir*, ibid , i, pp 180–8.

[4] *Debir*, ibid , p. 190

[5] *Ginze Kedem* (גנזי קדם), ed B Lewin, Haifa, 1923, ii, p. 34.

[6] Ibid , ii, p. 33, line 17, like the Ginzberg fragment, makes mention of בעלי בתים חשובים הנכבדים אשר בבגדד, which is a further evidence for the homogeneousness of "G" and "L".

[7] J. N. Epstein in *Debir*, 1924, ii, p 325, cf. also B. Lewin in *Ginze Kedem*, ii, p. 34, and now J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati, 1931, p. 67.

Thus sender, time, place, and addressee were defined in all their particulars, and the question as to the authorship of Ginzberg's Geniza fragment was solved.

III

Ever since the publication of "G" the specialists have laboured to find an answer to the other question too, namely: Who were these "prominent members of the Baghdād community", those "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" that were able to make representations to the Court and to intercede on behalf of their co-religionists?[1]

With regard to the "Bne Netira" we possess information from other Jewish sources. In a Geniza fragment published by Harkavy,[2] as well as in the Hebrew[3] and Arabic[4] report of Nathan Hababli, *Netira*, the father, appears as one of the leading Jewish notables[5] of Baghdad towards the end of

[1] S. Assaf (*Encyclop. Judaica*, vol. vii, p. 275, s.v. Geonim) says: "Die Geonim bemühten sich auch durch Vermittlung hoffähiger Juden Bagdads wie Netira und seine Söhne auf die Judenpolitik des Chalifenhofes Einfluss zu gewinnen." He does not, however, mention the "Bne Aaron". On the other hand, see D. S. Sassoon (*Encyclop. Judaica*, vol. iii, p. 957), s.v. Bagdad: "Unter den Juden in Bagdad zeichneten sich in der gaonäischen Zeit die Familien Mar Netira und Mar Aaron aus, die der Regierung nahe standen und um das Wohl der Juden in Bagdad und in anderen Provinzen bemüht waren."

[2] Published under the title *Netira und seine Söhne: eine angesehene jüdische Familie in Bagdad im Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Festschrift für A. Berliner, 1903, Hebrew part, pp. 34–43). Cf. hereto the additions and emendations of S. Fraenkel, *JQR.*, xvii (1905), pp. 386–8. Regarding J. Friedlander's hypothesis about the identity of the author of this Harkavy fragment with the Arabic report of Nathan Hababli and his opinion about both fragments being parts of a lost History of Baghdad (*JQR.*, xvii, 1905, pp. 747–760), cf. A. Marx, "Der arabische Bustanai Bericht und Nathan Hababli," in *Livre d'Hommage à la memoire de S. Poznanski*, Warsaw, 1927, pp. 76–81.

[3] Ed. A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1895, ii, p. 78, line 3, last–p. 79, line 11. About Nathan Hababli, cf. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, i, 22–36.

[4] J. Friedlander, "The Arabic Original of the Report of R. Nathan Hababli," *JQR.*, xvii (1905), pp. 747–761.

[5] Both reports of Nathan Hababli mention also a Joseph b. Phineas as one of the Baghdad notables who acted together with Netira. For the personality of the former see above, p. 348.

the ninth century (the reign of al-Mu'taḍid and his successors), who was in a position to influence the Caliph's decisions [1] in favour of his party in an internal dispute in the Jewish community.[2] The same sources, especially Harkavy's fragment, also give us particulars about the "*Bne* Netira", the sons, who are called Sahl and Izchak. Sahl the elder succeeded to his father in business, and occupied together with his brother Izchak [3] the same social and political position as he had. Like their father, the Bne Netira are represented as influential personalities, who in an internal quarrel of the Jewish community secured a decision of the Caliph in favour of their candidate for the Gaonate.[4]

In any case, the "Bne Netira" of these sources certainly answer to the description "of prominent members of the Baghdād community" which is applied to them in Saadya's fragment and possession of the influence in court circles which that document ascribes to them.

We do not, however, find in these Jewish sources any mention of persons whom we could equate with the "Bne Aaron". Regarding their identity the most divergent views

[1] *Vide* Neubauer, ii, 79–80, Friedländer, ibid., ii, 1, 13, for details thereon v. Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. v, 4th edition, pp. 281, 446–559; Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii, p 474; A. Marx and L Margolis, *History of the Jewish People*, p 269.

[2] To what Netira's influence was due, we know from the extremely enlightening Geniza fragment published by Harkavy which gives us an interesting insight into the inner life of the Jewish community of Baghdād in general One should, however, beware of relying on Harkavy's Hebrew translation which is inaccurate in many particulars.

It seems that al-Mu'taḍid appointed Netira to be collector of the Jews' poll-tax (Harkavy, ibid., p. 36). Opinions differ as to the official position in virtue of which the poll-tax was collected. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, v, pp. 131, 435; cf., however, J. Mann, *JQR*, x, 1919, p. 123 ff. Perhaps he was a *jahbadh*, an office which was, according to b. Taghribardi, ii, 174, as we have seen, the one which the Jews might occupy.

[3] The Harkavy fragment ends just where one hoped to find details about the nature of their joint business.

[4] The candidate of the Bne Netira was R. Saadya. Nathan Hababli states expressly that Saadya was victorious because those Bne Netira and other rich Jews of Baghdād were on his side and influenced the Caliph al-Muqtadir (ed. Neubauer, ii, 79).

have been expressed. L. Ginzberg [1] and so also H. Malter [2] thought that in this fragment Aaron b. Sarjado was Mar Aaron, the father of the Bne Aaron. Whilst, however, Aaron b. Sarjado was a very prominent and influential personality, and Gaon of Pumbadita [3] (943–960), this identification is precluded by chronological circumstances of which Ginzberg could not know at the time, namely that, as we have seen, the document which presupposes the death of Mar Aaron was sent by R. Saadya Gaon in the year 928, whereas this Aaron lived until 960.

J. Mann was especially zealous in his endeavours to identify the "Bne Aaron" on the basis of data furnished by further Geniza material. This zeal, however, carried him too far; for whenever he came across the name of "Aaron" or "Bne Aaron"—for the most part such as flourished between 945 and 960 C.E.—or whenever he found a prominent personality of the same period mentioned, he thought he had come upon the trail of the Aaron family of our Saadya fragment. This led to rather contradictory theories that did not advance the cause.[4]

Now that it has been established that the Saadya letter, in which the "Bne Aaron" are mentioned, was written in 928, all the conjectures connecting the "Bne Aaron" with persons that lived so much later are disposed of. The question

[1] *Geonica*, ii, p. 87.

[2] *R. Saadia Gaon, his Life and his Works*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 133 n.

[3] About him, v. Graetz, v, 4 ed., p. 293, and H. Malter, ibid., *Encycl. Judaica*, s.v. He was one of the sharpest opponents of R. Saadya Gaon, and already, therefore, it would be very improbable to think of his sons, who, by the way, are nowhere mentioned, as of people who would have been helpful to the Egyptian friends of R. Saadya. J. Mann has also other reasons for rejecting Ginzberg's explanation. Cf. *REJ*., 73 (1921), p. 109; *JQR*., viii (1917–18), p. 34.

[4] Cf. J. Mann, *JQR*., viii (1917–18), pp. 342 ff., 346, 347, "probably identical with the Bne Aaron, the influential grandees of Baghdad", *Geonic Studies*, Hebrew Union College Jubilee volume, Cincinnati, 1925, p. 231; cf. *JQR*., ix (1918–19), p. 156; *Texts and Studies*, p. 78. In view of the frequency of the name Aaron in Babylonian Jewry of this period, chronology is just the determining factor.

as to the identity of the "Bne Aaron" must be therefore taken up anew, but this I shall endeavour to do from an entirely new approach.

IV

As neither the hitherto published Geniza fragments nor any other Hebrew sources [1] could help us further in our search for the "Bne Aaron" or their father, it is necessary to turn to contemporary Arab sources. It has been long justly recognized [2] that references to Jews and Jewish events that are scattered throughout the rich treasures of Arab literature have not yet been fully utilized by Jewish historical research. The Arab historical sources in particular have not yet been subjected to a systematic investigation from this point of view, although many problems of interest to Jewish historians could thus have been advanced, if not solved. For methodological reasons alone the Arab sources ought not to be neglected by Jewish historians, even if the results prove scanty.[3]

This requirement is all the more reasonable as applied to Arab sources dealing with events that took place in Baghdād

[1] It must be remarked that J Mann, in his recent monumental work (*Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati, 1931), does not offer any new opinion relative to the "Bne Aaron" problem. He only remarks on our Saadya letter "Interesting is his promise to his correspondents in Egypt that their political requests would be taken care of in Baghdad by the influential sons of Netira and of Aaron who would intervene on their behalf at the seat of the government" (p 70). Cf., however, p 78.

[2] Cyrus Adler, "Jewish History in Arabian Historians," *JQR.*, II (1890), p 106; J. Mann, *JQR.*, VII, N S, p 458, J. Finkel, "An Eleventh Century Source for the History of Jewish Scientists in Mohammedan Countries," *JQR.*, XVIII (1927), p. 45 ff. Finkel justly observes: "The numerous branches of the immense Arabic literature contain so many data on Jewish faith and culture that were this material gathered, it would reach the magnitude of a considerable 'Bibliotheca'."

[3] *Vide* E. Fagnan, *Arabo-Judaica*, *in Mélanges H Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp 103–120, an endeavour that, however, was not carried further. On the other hand, I Friedländer, I. Goldziher, A. Harkavy, S. Poznanski, J. Mann, and others have shown in their works over and over again that the Arab sources can be exceedingly helpful to the Jewish historian.

and in the eastern provinces of the 'Abbâsid Empire, and that in an age of such importance as that of the Gaonate.

Why should not persons like the "Bne Aaron" and "Bne Netira", who are expressly stated to have had access to the Court, have left some record of their names and activities in the Arab chronicles of that period? In effect, as we shall see, the solution to our problem lies just here. The מלך (king) of Saadya's letter, who reigned at the time of these "Bne Aaron" and "Bne Netira" and who maintained relations with them, was no other than the Caliph al-Muqtadir.

Now the Arab sources with which we have been dealing all along all embrace just the reign of this sovereign; that they tell of some influential Jews we have already seen. I now wish to make the assertion that the two bankers and "Hofjuden", Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, are closely connected with the "prominent members of the Baghdâd community" of whom Saadya speaks, and more particularly, that Aaron b Amram -to start with him— is no other than the long-sought father of the "Bne Aaron".

In order to achieve a demonstration which can claim methodical correctness, I shall briefly recapitulate what conditions of time, place, social status, etc, must be satisfied by those whose identity with the "prominent members of the Baghdâd community" in the Saadya fragment is alleged.

(1) They must have resided in Baghdâd.[1]

(2) They must have been in direct relations with Baghdâd governmental circles, which enabled them to intervene on behalf of their brethren (even those from other provinces) before the Caliph.

(3) They must already have held an influential position in 928, at the time of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.[2]

[1] This feature precludes any attempt to identify them with personalities residing elsewhere

[2] The letter of R Saadya was written in 928

(4) They must have been indebted to their fathers[1] for their high office.[2]

(5) At the time when this letter was written, i.e. in 928, their fathers, Mar Netira and Mar Aaron, could not have been alive any more.[3]

(6) "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" must have been contemporaries.[4]

(7) They must also have been partisans of R. Saadya.[5]

That the Aaron b. Amram of the Arab writings with which we have been dealing satisfies all the conditions for the father of the "Bne Aaron" can be seen at a glance. He lived in Baghdād. He had close relations with the highest Government circles. He was Court Banker for many years between 908 and 924 (he is not heard of at any later date). He was obviously the right man to intercede before the Caliph on behalf of his co-religionists. It is true that only one son of his receives mention in Arabic sources as having appeared at Court in connection with his father's functions as *jahbadh*.[6]

[1] The "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" seem to have been influential only in virtue of their being heirs of a position held by their fathers. They were just the "sons of their fathers" and are therefore called "*Bne* Netira" and "*Bne* Aaron" without further specification.

[2] The text gives the impression that we have here to do with purely mundane personalities, prominent in politics or business, and not with Talmudic celebrities.

[3] Note the phrase זכר הנאספים לברכה

[4] The fact that the two families are mentioned together as they are, is an important chronological indication that has hitherto not been taken into account. It teaches us that only contemporaries of the "Bne Netira" can be identified with the "Bne Aaron"

[5] Apart from the fact that R. Saadya was obviously on cordial terms with them, we have direct evidence that Sahl b. Netira was a pupil of his Cf Harkavy, ibid., pp. 38, 40.

[6] A comparison between *Misk.*, 112, and *Misk*, 128, shows that this "Ben Aaron" was probably called Bishr. About the name Bishr b. Aaron there is a lack of clarity in the Arab sources. There is an Abū Naṣr Bishr b Aaron, who is expressly called "the Christian secretary" (*al-kātib an-naṣrāniyy*) (cf. e g. *Tabari*, 1511, 1524; *Tan.*, i, 52; *Wuz*, 33, 159, 243), and a Bishr b. Aaron without any qualification, who is probably the son of our Aaron b. Amram. The index to the *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, s.v. Bishr, does not clear the matter up. The *jahbadh* of the Vizier b. al-Furāt was Aaron b. Amram; the index, however, attributes the same function also to

But all the sons and some other members of the families of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram were collectively included under the designation "successors" and "heirs".

There remains, therefore, only the requirement of synchronism. Were this Aaron b. Amram's children contemporary with the "Bne Netira"?

V

We have already seen from the report of Nathan Hababli that the "Bne Netira" lived at the time of the Caliph al-Muqtadir and played an important part at his court. But at the very same time, as the Arab sources show us, Aaron b. Amram and his sons occupied a similar position. We should therefore have expected to find in the Arab sources, that have proved so rich in data on Aaron b. Amram, some particulars about his contemporaries, the Netira family. However, the Arab sources accessible to-day do not mention any Netira, and only in another connection a "Ben Netira".[1]

a Bishr b. Aaron. This is hardly to be explained otherwise than by assuming that this Bishr is a son of Aaron b. Amram, who, as we have seen, appears at court on business with his father in *Misk.*, 128.

If this is so, then there exists a considerable amount of probability in favour of further identifying him with Bishr b. Aaron, the son-in-law of Aaron b. Joseph Sarjado, who, according to Jewish sources, subsequently undertook to play the part of mediator between the Saadyan party, to whom in that case his own family the "Bne Aaron" belonged, and their bitter opponents, of whom his father-in-law was the most influential and wealthy. This probability is certainly not weakened by the description of Bishr b. Aaron in the Jewish sources as an exceedingly rich and prominent member.

Cf. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ii, p. 80 ff., J. Mann, *JQR*, xi, n.s., p. 426, ix, p. 156 n., *Encycl. Judaica*, i, p. 56, s.v. Aaron b. Joseph ha-Kohen Sarjado.

[1] The Sahl b. Nazir, mentioned in *Misk.*, 349 and 379, who acted as *jahbadh* to the governor Baridi in Ahwāz (936), is perhaps identical with our Sahl b. Netira of Baghdād. The Harkavy fragment tells us that Sahl b. Netira had in Fars a bazār or market that yielded him 2,000 dirham a day; this might be taken as an indication of some connection between them. It is not unlikely that after the Caliph al-Muqtadir's death business interests led him to Ahwāz where he became *jahbadh* to Baridi. The story of his cruel death at the hand of Baridi is related in *Misk.*, 379. On a Sahl b. Nazir of the ninth century cf. *Islamic Culture*, 1930, p. 181.

On the other hand, as has been shown, another Jewish personality is constantly mentioned together with Aaron b. Amram, namely, Joseph b. Phineas. The latter also bore the title of *jahbadh*, held the same privileged position at the court of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, and helped, together with Aaron b. Amram, to supply the Caliph's pecuniary needs. Might this Joseph b. Phineas perhaps have had something to do with the "Bne Netira"?

This question can now be answered with the help of our Jewish sources in an unequivocally affirmative sense. For these sources, which just on that point supplement the Arab ones, likewise mention our Joseph b. Phineas as an important and influential personality, but moreover furnish us with the further information that he used his influence with the Caliph on behalf of Babylonian Jewry, *together with one Netira*: the very same Netira of whose activities I have already spoken and whose sons the "Bne Netira" are mentioned by Saadya. But not only this. Furthermore, the Jewish sources state explicitly the relationship that existed between Joseph b. Phineas and Netira. In the Hebrew report[1] of Nathan Hababli we hear of יוסף בן פינחס וחתנו נטירא "Joseph b. Phineas and his son-in-law Netira", and in the Arabic report[2] more detailed יוסף בן פינחס ובֿתנה זוג אבנתה נטירא אבו סהֿל ואסחאק "Joseph b. Phineas and his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter, Netira and father of Sahl and Isaac".

Thus we see that Joseph b. Phineas was Netira's father-in-law, and so the grandfather of the "Bne Netira".

This important statement about the kinship between Netira and Joseph b. Phineas allows us to recognize a remarkable correspondence of personalities between the Arab and Hebrew literary sources of the tenth century.

Just as the Arab sources represent Joseph b. Phineas and

[1] *Nathan Hababli*, ed Neubauer, ii, 78

[2] J. Friedländer, *JQR.*, xvii (1905), p. 747, text recto i, l. 9–10.

Aaron b. Amram[1] as joint holders of one and the same high office, so, on the other hand, the Saadya letter speaks of the "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" as of contemporaries who acted together in virtue of one and the same high degree of influence at court.[2] The parallel is too obvious to leave any room for doubt; the Arab sources speak of the father and the grandfather, the Hebrew ones of the sons and the grandsons.

The parallel would of course have been more striking still if the Arab sources had named "Netira" instead of Joseph b. Phineas.[3] It seems, however, that Joseph b. Phineas outlived his son-in-law Netira, and continued the latter's business together with his grandsons, the "Bne Netira". It is not impossible that it was just Netira's death that induced his father-in-law, Joseph b. Phineas, to go into

[1] Having established that the father of the "Bne Aaron" of the Hebrew sources was in all probability Aaron b. Amram, one naturally asks whether the Jewish sources of that period make any mention of an "Aaron b. Amram" with whom he might be identified. As a matter of fact, the name of a highly respected Aaron b. Amram does occur in an epistle of the Palestinian Ben Meir of the year 921. Cf. *Encycl. Judaica*, iv, pp. 64–70, s.v. Ben Meir. Cf. Eppenstein, "Beiträge zur gaonäischen Literatur," *MGWJ*, 1913, pp. 455–6, Graetz, vol. v, 4th ed., p. 447, n. 1; S. Schechter, *Saadyana*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 20, and above all, J. Ch. Bornstein in *Sefer ha-yobel likebod N. Sokolow*, Warsaw, 1904, p. 105.

[2] The connection between the Court-Jews of the Arab sources and the בעלי בתים חשובים of the Saadya letter gives us an answer to the question that was asked above as to the concrete position which the "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" might have held at court. Apparently they held the office of *jahbadh*, working in the banking firm founded by their father and their grandfather. They were considered as their legal heirs, to whom the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa alludes as the "successors" and "heirs". The family connections of prominent Jews in that age suggest the supposition that the family of the "Bne Netira" and the "Bne Aaron" were later on also allied by marriage.

[3] The chronology in the Harkavy fragment is not clear. The Arab text of the fragment says that Mu'taḍid's son, al-Muqtadir, succeeded to his father. But we know that al-Muqtadir was preceded by Muktafi (902–8). Though Harkavy (ibid., p. 39) has already corrected this, his statement about Netira's time of office does not seem to be correct. The sources report that Netira remained in office eight years after Mu'taḍid's death, i.e. until 910, and not as Harkavy says until 916.

partnership with the merchant and banker Aaron b. Amram, whose social and communal position was similar to his own, in order the more easily to carry on the business of his family.

If, therefore, Saadya found the heirs of these magnates the most suitable intercessors in Jewish causes at the Royal Court, it was thanks to their position and functions, of which, with the help of contemporary Arab sources, we have been able to reconstruct, we hope, an essentially accurate picture.

141.

The *Pand-Nāmah* of Subuktigīn

BY M NAZIM

THE *Pand-Nāmah* or the "Counsel" of Subuktigīn to his son Maḥmūd is the earliest work of its kind in the Persian language. It not only formulates some important principles of administration, but also furnishes valuable information about an obscure period of history, viz. the early life of Subuktigīn and the origin of his family.

When Alptigīn died, his slave named Ṭughāntigīn assumed independence in the province of Bust. About A.H. 366 (A.D. 976) Pāītūz defeated him and took possession of Ghazna. Ṭughāntigīn appealed for help to Subuktigīn, who agreed to reinstate him on condition that he recognized him as his overlord and paid annual tribute. Accordingly, Subuktigīn marched to Bust in A.H. 367 (A D 977–8), defeated Pāītūz, and reinstated Ṭughāntigīn. Ṭughāntigīn, however, refused to pay the promised tribute, and even tried to put Subuktigīn to death treacherously. Subuktigīn therefore turned his arms against Ṭughāntigīn and made preparations to punish him, but Ṭughāntigīn fled to Kirmān, and Subuktigīn annexed Bust to his kingdom[1] Before proceeding to Bust Subuktigīn appointed Maḥmūd, who was then only about 7 years of age, as his deputy at Ghazna, with Bū 'Alī of Kirmān as his wazir. It was at this time that he wrote the *Pand-Nāmah* for the guidance of the young prince in the work of administration.

The earliest work in which there is a reference to this *Pand-Nāmah* is the *Jawāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt* of Sadīdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-'Awfī. On f. 142*a* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, persan, 75) al-'Awfī says :—

آورده اند که در آن وقت که امیر سبکتگین رحمة
الله علیه برای معاونت طغانتگین بطرف بست حرکت

[1] These events are given in detail by al-'Utbī in his *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* (Lahore ed.), pp. 17–19.

فرمود و بجهت مناصرت و معاونت او لشکر کشید
فرزند خود محمود را رحمة الله علیه در قلعه غزنین بنشاند
و او را به نیابت خود نصب فرمود و وزارت به بو علی
کرمانی تفویض فرمود و او را وصیتها کرد یکی ازان
جمله آن بود که اصحاب حاجات را پیش خوانی و انصاف
مظلومین از ظالمان بستانی و هرچه که من روا نداشته ام
اگر پسرم خواهد که از راه کودکی آن بر دست گیرد
باید که به پیغام و نبشته مرا ازان اعلام دهی و رضای
او در آنچ فرماید بجوئ و پیادگان و نقیبان را در قلعت
بیکدیگر سپاری و هیچکس را بی حاجت و ضرورت
بیرون نگذاری - پس محمود را گفت ای پسر ما را تو
عزیز تر از هر دو جهانی لاکن بدان که تا مرد بجد
مردی نرسد و رنج نکشد از مقام یك سواری بدرجت
امیری و سپاه داری نرسد و خطر و خوف جهان معلوم
وی نگردد و من که پدر تو ام منازل و مراحل جهان بسیار
دیدم تا بدین بارگاه رسیدم - باید که سخنان من یادگیری
وپند من بپذیری که من رفتم و گفتنی گفتم - اگر

بسلامت آیم عذر باز خواهم واگر رفتم اجل را تدبیری
نیست بدانك بادشاهی نکـو خواهی اسـت و طریـق
جهانداری بردباری۔

چیز بخشیدن و کم آزاری
هست آئین مملکت داری

و بزرگان گفته اند که او درین پندها تمامت قانون
سیاست و ریاست را درج کرد ست۔

It is stated that when Amīr Subuktigīn (the mercy of God be upon him!) went to Bust to help Ṭughāntigīn and led an army to assist him, he installed his son Maḥmūd (the mercy of God be upon him!) in the fort of Ghaznīn, made him his deputy, and entrusted the duties of wazir to Bū 'Alī of Kirmān and gave him many instructions, one of which was this: You should encourage needy persons to approach you, and avenge the oppressed on their oppressors. (He also said to him): If my son, by reason of his childishness, wants to do that which I have disapproved, you should seek his pleasure in whatever he commands, but should communicate it to me by oral message as well as by written word. You should place the fort in charge of foot-soldiers and leaders . . . (?) and should prevent all egress without business or necessity. Then he said to Maḥmūd: O son, you are dearer to me than both the worlds, but know that until a person attains to manhood and suffers hardships, he cannot rise to the rank of Amīr and commander from the position of a one horse trooper and become aware of the risks and dangers of this world. I, your father, have passed through several

stages of this world before attaining to this position. You should remember my words and take my exhortation to heart, for I am saying what is worth saying before I go away. If I return, I shall offer excuses for this trouble, but if I die, doom cannot be averted by prudence. Know that kingship is benevolence and the method of holding the world is forbearance

> Bestowing rewards and doing little injury,
> Is the way of keeping an empire.

Wise men have said that in those counsels he has collected all the principles of good Administration.

On f. 391*b* (or 236 Br Museum) al-'Awfī again makes a passing reference to this *Pand-Nāmah*, in his account of the expedition of Subuktigin to Bust, in the following words:—

سبکتگین بطرف بست رفت و امیر یمین الدولة محمود را به نیابت خود در قلعه غزنین بنشاند و او را وصیتهای خوب کرد و پندهای پدرانه داد ـ

Subuktigin went to Bust and left Amīr Yamīnu'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd as his deputy in the fort of Ghaznīn He gave him very useful counsels and paternal admonition.

The only other work in which the *Pand-Nāmah* is mentioned is the *Āthāru'l Wuzarā* of Saifu'd-Dīn Ḥajjī b. Niẓām al-Fadlī, a work of the middle of the ninth century A.H On f. 88a (India Office MS No 1569), in the account of Abu'l Fatḥ of Bust, it is said -

پندنامه که امیر سبکتگین به پسر خود سلطان محمود نوشته است بخط او ست و بغایت فائده مند است

درین کتاب نوشتن آن به تطـویل می انجامید مشروع
در تاریخ مجمع الانساب مذکور است۔

The *Pand-Namāh*, which Amīr Subuktigīn wrote for his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was in his (Abu'l Fatḥ's) handwriting. It is extremely useful. Copying it in extenso in this book would have tended to lengthen this account. It is given in detail in the history named *Majma'u'l-Ansāb.*

The *Majma'u'l-Ansāb* referred to by al-Faḍlī was written by Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī b. ash-Shaikh Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain b. Abū Bakr in the year A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332–3), which was the sixteenth regnal year of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, a great-grandson of Hulāgū Khān. Several manuscripts of this book are extant in the Oriental libraries of Europe and India, but the portion dealing with the Ghaznavids is omitted from all those which the writer was able to consult except the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Supplément Persan 1278). The text of the *Pand-Nāmah* given below is therefore based on that manuscript only.

پندنامه

(f. 226*b*) . . . واین پندنامه امیر سبکتگین املا
کرد و ابو الفتح بستی بخط خود نوشت و امیر محمود بعد
از پدر آنرا در غلاف گرفته بود و هر روز مطالع کردی
تاکارش بسلطنت رسید۔ اول گفت ای پسر بدانکه
من احوال خود با تو بگویم تا تو بدانی که خدای تعالی
در هر ذاتی خاصیتی نهاد که آن خاصیت در آن آدمی البته

پیدا شود و بدانکه تخم من از ترکستان از قبیله ایست
که آنرا برسخان گویند و این نام بر آن قبیله ازان افتاد
که گویند بروزگار قدیم یکی از ملوك ایران زمین
بترکستان شد و ملك ترکستان گشت و او را پارسی
خوان گفتندی و بکثرت استعمال برسخان شد و پدرم
را نام جوق بود و لقب برسخان ـ و برسخان بلفظ ترکان
زور آور باشد و پدرم چندان زور داشت که استخوان پای
اسپ بدست بشکستی و نامی داشت از زه کمان
گسیختن و کشتی گرفتن و سواری وغیره ـ و رسم
او آن بود که به تنها سلاح بر گرفتی و به پایگاه
بیگانگان زدی و غارت و کشتن کردی و برده آوردی
و رسم ترکان هم چنین است که بر یکدیگر تاختن
کنند ـ و او را فرزندان بسیار بودند و پسر سیومش
من بودم و او مهمانرا (f 227a) دوست داشتی و همه روز
مهمانان بخانهٔ او آمدندی ـ روزی مهمانان رسیدند و درمیان
ایشان پیر مردی بود کاهن و من با دیگر طفلان در
گوشهٔ خانه خرگاه نشسته بودم ـ پیر مرا چون بدید

پیش خود خواند و بکف دست من نگاه کرد و
گفت ای بسا شگفتی که بر سر این کودك خواهد
گذشت و او بامیری رسد و نسل او پادشاهان باشند.
من آن سخن را در دل گرفتم و امروز هرچه مرا
پیش آمد سخن آن پیر مرا یاد آید. و قضا چنان افتاد
که در آن هفته قومی از ترکان که ایشان را بختیان گویند
بر قبیلهٔ ما تاختن کردند و پدر ما بشکار رفته بود.
ایشان بنگاه ما را غارت کردند و مرا به بردگی بردند
و آن روز مرا دوازده سال بود. و از ما تا زمین آن
بختیان مسافتی دور بود و پدر مرا ممکن نشد بطلب من
آمدن و مرا بقبیلهٔ بختیان بردند. و ایشان بت پرستیدندی
و در صحرای یك سنگ به شکل آدمی تراشیده بودند و
گفتندی خود رسته است و همه وقت پیش آن سنگ
سجده کردندی و آنجا زیارت گاهی بود ایشانرا و مرا
بگوسفند چرانیدن مشغول کردند و بصحرا بودمی و
هر روز گذر من بر این بت بودی و مرا خدای بدل
افگند که این بختیان بدبخت قومی اند که هر روز پیش

سنگی سجده می کنند- روزی گفتم من با این بت
گستاخی کنم به بینم که مرا مکافاتی می شود- پس بدیدم
و ازان نجاسات و پلیدیها که ازان قربانها که از برای آن
بت کرده بودند افتاده بود بر سر چوبی کردم و بر روی و
بر تن آن صورت اندودم- روز دیگر مرا هیچ آسیبی
نرسید و خود چه رسیدی از سنگ جماد بر من- پس هر
روز چنین کردمی و یقین من در خدا شناسی زیاده شدی-
و من چهار سال درمیان آن قوم بودم- پس مرا با چند
غلام دیگر بشهرهایٔ ماوراء النهر آوروند و بفروختند و
مرا خواجهٔ بخرید از شهر چاچ نام او نصر حاجی- و
نصر مرا با چند غلام دیگر بشهر نخشب آورد و من
آنجا رنجور شدم و مرا بدست پیر زنی سپرد و زری
چند داد و گفت این را خرج میکن تا به شود و من سه
سال (f. 227b) در آن رنجوری بماندم و نصر هر سال
بیامدی به برده خریدن و من همچنان رنجور بودم و مرا
بگذاشت- و آن زن مرا بغیر از مداوات طبیب هیچ
ندادی و من ضعیف شده بودم و هرچند گفتمی مرا

نان و گوشت دهید ندادندی ـ روزی خفته بودم ـ از
دور کاغذی پیچیده دیدم بستدم و باز کردم ـ پر از
نقرهٔ شکسته بود ـ صبر کردم تا آن زن از خانه بیرون
رفت ـ و آن زن را پسری بود جوانی نیکو سیرت و بامن
دوست بود ـ آن نقره بوی دادم و گفتم از برای من
قدری گوشت و قدری جغرات بیاور ـ رفت و بیاورد و
دیگ بر نهاد و بپخت و من بخوردم و آن شب خوش
بخفتم و تا سه روز آن جوان به پنهان مادر آن گوشت و
جغرات می داد تا به شدم ـ باز حال بزن بگفتم و او نیز
از همان طعام بمن می داد ـ بقرب یك ماه چنان شدم که
بحد اول باز رفتم ـ و مرا هوس سلیح گری و سواری
بود و آن پسر مردی بود که در سلاح گری استاد بود
و همه اهل نخشب پسرانرا پیش او آوردندی و سلاح
و آداب سواری بیاموختی ـ پس مرا به برادری قبول
کرده بود و دقایق تیراندازی و اسپ دوانیدن و نیزه
و شمشیر بیاموخت و نصر آن سال باز آمد و مرا
بر گرفت و به بخارا آورد و مرا بر سر همه غلامان امیر

کرد و اعتماد تمام بر من داشت و حال من به پیش امیر
الپتگین بگفتند و امیر الپتگین یگانهٔ سامانیان بود ـ
مرا از نصر بخواست و نصر را میسر نه شد که ندهد
مرا با ده غلام باو فروخت و امیر الپتگین مرا بر سر
آن ده غلام امیر کرد و حال من بدین رسید که مرا
امروز می بینی و مرا خدای تعالیٰ امیری داد و بر سر
بندگان خود حاکم گردانید ـ این است احوال من.

اکنون آگاه باش ای پسر که اگر ترا خدای
تعالیٰ همچون من امیری روزی گرداند بدانکه حکم بر
بندگان خدای تعالیٰ کردن کوچك کاری نیست و
پادشاهی کاری با خطر است و در دنیا خطر جاه هست و
در آخرت خطر دین ـ باید که از خدای بترسی ـ چون
تو از خدای ترسان باشی بندگان خدای تعالیٰ نیز از تو
بترسند ـ وباید که پارسا باشی که ملك ناپارسا را حرمت
نباشد (f. 228a) و اول کاری آن کنی که خزانه را و بیت
المال را آبادان داری که ملك را بمال توان داشتن و اگر
ترا مال و زر و نعمت نباشد هیچ کس فرمان تو نبرد و

مال حاصل نشود الا بامارت وتدبیر عقل و امارت میسر
نشود الا بعدل و راستی و جهد کن تا همه مردمان را
مشفق خود گردانی بدانك دل ایشان باحسان و بذل مال
بدست آری و هیچ خلقی مطیع چون خودی نشود الا
بدانکه او را نباشد و تو بدهی و باید که بلند همت باشی
و همت در آدمی همچون آتش است که بلندی جوید و
لهو و بازی و لذت و شهوة مزاج خاك دارد همه میل
پستی کند و باید که جمع مال از وجهی باشد که جمیل باشد
و من ترا نمی گویم که مال از رعایا بستان که هر کس که
مال ناواجب از رعایا بستاند آن مال عنقریب وبال او
باشد و رعایا گنج پادشاه اند چون گنج تهی باشد
پادشاهی بچه کار آید و نیز نمی گویم که چنان نرم شو
که مال حق از رعایا نستانی ـ باید که حق خدای تعالی
بیش هیچ آفریده نگذاری و هر کرا حقی واجب باشد
بلطف از وی بستانی و بدان مصرف که خدای تعالی و
رسول علیه السلام فرموده است نگاه داری ـ و جای
که شمشیر بکار آید تازیانه را کار نفرمای و نیز جای که

تازیانه باید شمشیر نزنی ـ و غافل مباش از کسانی که سالها
عاملی کرده باشند و مالهائی که بمدتها توفیر کرده باشند
نواب و کسان تو خرج کنند تا تو ایشان را باز عمل
فرستی پس باید که عاملی که دو سه سهال در موضعی یا
شهری یا دهی بوده باشد از حال او با خبر باشی و حساب
او بر گیری و اگر محقق شود که غیر راستی از کسی
چیزی بستده باشد آن مال را باز ستانی و او را تادیب
کرده باز سر عمل خود فرستی تا اگر مرد عاقل است
ازین یك نوبت بیدار شود و من بعد خیانت نکند و
اگر دیگر بار خیانت کند او را معزول کنی ـ و مهم تر
کاری آنست که از کار لشکر و مواجب و روزیهای
ایشان باخبر باشی و باید که حال ایشان چنان معلوم تو
باشد که هر روز همچون قل هو الله می خوانی و ایشانرا
چنان آماده و مطیع داری که اگر کاری افتد (f. 228b)
اگر صباح گوی چون چاشتگاه باشد همه لشکر تو با
جملگی سلاح و عدت بر نشسته باشند ـ و مردمان مستعد
را نیکو دار و کسانی که سست باشند و ایشان را رگ

مردی کارها نباشد پیش خود مدار ـ ومگوی که فلان
پسر فلان است و از برای پدری مال خدای تعالیٰ ضایع
مکن و حق مستحق ده مثلا کسی را اقطاع بوده باشد
و آنکس مرد و او را پسری ناخلف هست یا مال خود
دارد و محتاج اقطاع سلطان نیست و چند کس دیگر
محتاج باشند تو آن اقطاع را برای روان پدر او همچنان
بدان ناخلف دهی مال خدای تعالیٰ ضایع کرده باشی ـ
مال بدان کس ده که از برای مصلحت ملك تو کاری
کند و راهها ایمن دارد و پیوسته مشغول این باش ـ و
اگر عیاذاً بالله کالای بازرگانی در راهی ببرند تو چنان
دانی که مال از خزانهٔ تو برده اند و چنان سعی کن که
دزد را بگیری و مال بستانی و حد خدای بر وی برانی
و الا مال از خاصهٔ خود با صاحب کالا دهی و الا روز
شمار خدای تعالیٰ ترا ازان بپرسد تا دانی ـ و باید که
کریم باشی ورحیم و عفو تو از خشم تو زیاده باشد تا
مردمان بتو رغبت کنند اما در دو گناه هرگز عفو کار
نفرمایٔ یکی آنکه در مملکت شرکت جوید و یکی که

عمال مسلمانان دست دراز کند و این دو قوم را زنده
نگذاری باقی گناهکاران هر کسی بر حسب گناه تادیب
و عفو می کنی و بخشنده و سخی باشی اما مسرف و متلف
نه ـ و مردمان لاف زن و گزاف گوی پیش خود راه
ندهی و زنهار تا بسخن ایشان التفات نکنی که بیشتر
اسرار پادشاه از مردمان هزال و سهل گیر بدر رود و
دشمنان بر اسرار ملك واقف شوند و ازان قبح هایٔ قوی
خیزد ـ و کار هر کس پدید کنی که خدای تعالیٰ در هر
ذاتی صفاتی و خاصیتی آفریده است و این مرتبه نیکو
بشناسی زیرا کار وزارت از ستوربان نیاید اگرچه
ستوربان را آلت و عدت باشد و هرگز درین کار تقصیر
مکن و کار دیگر بدیگری مفرمای و اگر ده روز
فراش حاضر نباشد شراب دار را مفرمای که این فرش
بیفگن کسی را از اهل و بیت او بگوی تا آن کار کند
که خلل ممالك ازین سهو است که از طبع خیزد ـ و
باید که دوست و دشمن خود را (f. 229a) بشناسی و این
را کیاستی تمام باید و علمی کامل تا بر طبع مردمان واقف

شود و این معنی بامتحان میسر شود چنانکه در جزا و
سزا بحال هر کس واقف شوی ـ و بدانکه دشمن بزرگ
پادشاه خود رای است و استبداد و باید که در هر کاری
با مردمان مشفق که دوستی ایشان آزموده باشد مشورة
کنی و بعقل خود در آن تصرف نمای و با دشمنان که
باتو در یك مرتبه باشند با ایشان لطف و مدارا کنی و
اگر ازان مرتبه بگذرد در آن کار جز شمشیر چارهٔ
نباشد ـ و در کار حربها و کارزارها تامل بسیار واجب
داری که کار جنگ همچو بازر گانیست یا بر آید یا فرد
شود باید که در اول اندیشه کنی و تا صلاح پذیر
باشد میل حرب نکنی الا در جنگ کردن با کافران ـ و
بدترین دشمنان ایشان باشند که ملك ازیشان شده باشد
زیرا که هر گز دل ایشان دوست نشود و اگرچه سبب
نکبت دولت ایشان نه تو باشی چون ملك در دست تو
بینند حسد برند ـ با ایشان حاضر و بیدار باید بودن و
پیوسته ایشان را دلتنگ باید داشت و سرّ خود ازین
طایفه نهان باید کرد ـ وبدانکه وقت باشد که دوست

دشمن گردد اما هرگز دشمن دوست نشود ـ و باید که
خویشان و اقربا دوست داری و با کهتران شفقت ورزی
و با مهتران حرمت نگاه داری الا با کسی که در ملك
تو طمع کند او را محابا نکنی و شکسته و مالیده داری و
تا بند و زندان بر ایشان کفایت شود شمشیر کار نفرمای
و اگر دانی که بند سودی نکند آنگاه معذور شوی ـ
و باید که پیوسته جاسوسان را بر گماری تا احوال
مملکتها و لشکرهائ بیگانه و شهرهائ دور بتو آرند و
در شهر و مملکت خود صاحب بریدان امین داری تا ترا
از کار رعیت و عدل و انصاف عمال خبر دهند ـ و باید
که هر روز چون نماز خفتن کرده باشی مجموع احوال
ممالك خود مفصلاً معلوم کرده باشی تا کار ترا رونقی
باشد ـ و باید که از دخل و خرج ملك واقف باشی و
از دبیران و وزیران غافل نباشی که وقت باشد که
دبیران خائن شوند و با عامل راست شوند و مال ببرند
و گاه گاه بر سر ایشان زمام داری ـ و باید که این
سخنان که من ترا گفتم همه را یاد داری و بر دل منقش

کنی تا از روز بهان باشی - این است نصیحت و وصیت
من بر تو و من از گردن خود بیرون کردم - و الله
اعلم و احکم.

(*F.* 226*b*) . . . Amīr Subuktigīn dictated this *Pand-Nāmah* and Abu'l-Fatḥ of Bust wrote it in his own hand-writing[1] After the death of his father, Amīr Maḥmūd had it encased in a cover and used to read it every day until he attained to sovereignty.

' Firstly, he said · O son, know that I am going to tell you the story of my life so that you may understand that God has endowed every being with special characteristics which inevitably manifest themselves in that being. Know that my origin is from Turkistān from a clan called Barskhān. That clan was so called because it is said that in olden days one of the rulers of Īrān went to Turkistān and became king there. He was called Pārsī-Khwān[2] which by frequent usage became (contracted into) Buruskhān. My father's name was Jūq and his title was Buruskhān,[3] which means "powerful" in the Turkish language. My father was so strong that he used to break the shanks of a horse with his hands. He was renowned for snapping the bow by pulling the bow-strings, wrestling, riding, etc. His practice was to put on armour, attack the stronghold of an enemy single-handed, kill and plunder, and bring captives as slaves. It is customary with the Turks to attack one another

He had many children, and I was his third son. He loved

[1] According to *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbī, Subuktigīn took Abu'l-Fatḥ of Bust into his service after the conquest of Bust. The *Pand-Nāmah* therefore could not have been dictated to him

[2] i e. one who reads Persian.

[3] Buruskhān (or Parskhān) is the Barsinjān or Bam-sinjān, son of Yazdagird (the last Sāsānid monarch of Persia), of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Raverty's translation, p. 70.

hospitality (f. 227a) and every day guests used to come to his house. One day some guests arrived, and among them there was an old soothsayer. At that time, I was sitting in a corner of the tent with other children. When the old man saw me he called me to his presence, looked at the palm of my hand, and said: "How many wonders shall pass over this child! He shall attain to sovereignty and his progeny shall be kings." I took these words to heart, and all that has befallen me since reminds me of the saying of that old man. It so happened that the same week, a tribe of the Turks called Bakhtiyān carried out a raid on our clan while my father was out a-hunting. They plundered our cottage and carried me away as a slave. I was 12 years old at that time. The land of the Bakhtiyāns was a long way off from our place and hence it was not possible for my father to come in quest of me. I was taken to the tribe of the Bakhtiyāns. They were idol worshippers and had, in the plain, carved out a stone in human form which they said had grown of itself on the spot. They used to prostrate themselves before this stone at all times, and it was a place of pilgrimage for them. They had set me to tend their sheep, and I used to remain in the plain where I passed that idol every day. God put it into my heart that those Bakhtiyāns were a miserable people who prostrated themselves every day before a stone. One day I said to myself that I should offend against that idol in order to see if I was punished. I looked about me and finding nearby filth and droppings of animals which were sacrificed to that idol, I placed them on a piece of wood and daubed them on the face and body of that image. I came to no harm on the following day, and in fact what harm could come from inert stone? I did this every day, and my belief in the existence of God increased.

I lived for four years amongst that tribe. Then they took me and some other slaves to the towns of Transoxiana and sold us. I was purchased by a merchant of Chāch, named Ḥājjī Naṣr, who brought me with his other slaves to Nakhshab

where I was taken ill. He left me in charge of an old woman, and gave her a sum of money to keep me till I should get well. I was ill for three years (f. 227*b*). Naṣr used to come every year to buy slaves, but as I was ill, he used to leave me. That woman gave me nothing except drugs prescribed by the physician, and I became very weak. However much I asked for bread and meat, she would not consent to give it to me. One day as I lay on my bed, I saw nearby a twisted piece of paper. I picked it up and, on unfolding it, I found that it was full of silver coins. I waited till that old woman went out. She had a son who was a good-natured young man and was friendly to me. I gave him the silver and requested him to bring some meat and curds for me. He went and bought the things, set the pot over the fire, and cooked them for me. I ate them and that very night I slept soundly. For three days that young man, without the knowledge of his mother, brought me meat and curds to eat, and I got well. Then I told the woman and she too gave me the same food, until, in the space of a month, I became so well that I attained my former health.

It was my ambition to learn the use of arms and riding, and that young man was a master of these arts. The people of Nakhshab used to bring their sons to him to learn the management of arms and rules of horsemanship. Since he had accepted me as a brother, he taught me the fine points of archery and horsemanship, and the use of the spear and the sword. That year Naṣr came again, and took me to Bukhārā, and put me at the head of his other slaves, reposing complete trust in me. My story was related to Amīr Alptigīn who was a favourite of the Sāmānid house. He demanded me from Naṣr and, as Naṣr could not possibly decline, he sold me with ten other slaves to Alptigīn, who put me at their head until I attained to the position in which you see me now. God has made me king and given me authority over His creatures. This is the story of my life.

Now my son, bear in mind, that if one day God makes

you a king like me, you should not consider it a light task to rule over His creatures. Kingship is full of perils—perils to power in this world and perils to faith in the hereafter. You should fear God, for if you fear God, His creatures will also fear you. You should be pious; for an impious ruler commands no respect (f. 228a). The first thing you should do is to keep the private and public treasuries in a prosperous condition; for a kingdom can only be retained by wealth. If you do not possess money, gold, or wealth, nobody will obey you. Wealth cannot be acquired except by good government and wise statesmanship, and good government cannot be achieved except through justice and righteousness. Try hard to make all people your well-wishers, and win their hearts by kindness and generosity. No person will ever obey another one like himself, except when he is in want and you provide for him. You should have a lofty ambition, for ambition is like fire which seeks height; and pleasure and merry-making, lust and lewdness, are of the nature of dust which inclines to the ground.

Money should be accumulated only in a creditable manner. I do not advise you to extort money from your subjects; for whoever does so (finds that) that money soon becomes his bane. The subjects are to a king like his treasury; when the treasury is empty of what use is kingship? At the same time I do not advise you to be lenient so as not to demand your legitimate dues from your subjects. You should not leave unrecovered from any living being what is enjoined by God, but should realise all such dues in a gentle manner and assign them to the items of expenditure which God and His Prophet (peace be upon Him!) have commanded.

Where the use of sword is called for, you should not exercise the whip, and where the whip would serve the purpose, you should not strike with the sword. Do not be unmindful of those who have been revenue collectors ('Amils) for several years They will spend the money which they have been saving for years to influence the governors and your servants,

so that you may renew their appointment. Hence it is necessary that you should keep yourself acquainted with the condition of every revenue collector who has been in a village, town, or city, for two or three years, and get his accounts checked. If it is proved that he has extorted anything from a person unfairly, recover it from him, and having chastised him send him back to his post so that if he is wise he may learn by that one experience and cease to be dishonest. If he proves dishonest again, you should dismiss him.

It is most important that you should keep yourself well-informed about the condition of the army, their pay and daily allowances. Their condition should be as well known to you as the recitation of *Qul huwa'llah* every day. They should be so willing and obedient that if in times of need you issue the command (f. 228*b*) in the morning, they should be ready with their arms and equipments by breakfast time.

Treat those men well who are capable and smart, and do not keep near yourself those who are slothful and lacking in nerve for heroic actions. Do not say that so and so is the son of such and such, and do not waste God's money (that is, public money) for the sake of one's father, and give the rightful dues to the deserving. For instance, if a person has landed property and he dies leaving an undeserving son, or if a person is rich and does not stand in need of a grant of land from the Sultan, while there are many other needy persons, then you will be wasting God's riches if you bestow property on that undeserving son for the sake of the soul of his departed father. Bestow wealth on him who does something for the benefit of your kingdom, and keeps the highways safe; and always keep this in mind.

If, God forbid, the merchandise of a trader be plundered on the way, you should consider as though your own treasury had been robbed, and exert all your efforts to have the highwayman apprehended and punished in accordance with the divine law, and the merchandise recovered from him, failing which you should recompense the merchant from

your private property, otherwise know that God will call you to account for it on the Day of Reckoning.

You should be generous and merciful. Your forgiveness should exceed your wrath, so that people may be drawn towards you. You should not, however, be forgiving in two offences: firstly, in the case of one who seeks to be your rival in kingship, and secondly, in the case of one who despoils the property of Muslims. You should not leave these two classes of offenders alive. With regard to other offenders, you should punish or pardon them according to the nature of their guilt. You should be charitable and generous but not wasteful and extravagant.

You should not allow boastful people and braggarts into your presence and should not pay heed to their words; for it is mostly through flippant and light-hearted companions that a king's secrets leak out and enemies come to know of confidential matters of State, and this results in great evils.

You should define everybody's particular duties; for God has created special attributes and characteristics in every person. You should recognize this distinction carefully, because a groom cannot carry out the work of a wazīr, even if he were to have the requisite equipment. Never make a mistake in this matter, and do not entrust one man's work to another. If the carpet-spreader is absent for ten days, do not order the wine-keeper to spread the carpet. Tell a member of his family to do that work; for it is due to such intentional mistakes that disturbance is caused in kingdoms. You should distinguish between your friends and foes (f. 229a). It requires perfect intelligence and complete knowledge to comprehend human nature. This object can be achieved only by trial, in the same way as you can understand the character of persons when meting out rewards and punishments to them. Know that the greatest enemies of a king are despotism and self-will. In every matter you should take the advice of devoted persons of

tested friendliness and then decide it in accordance with your own judgment. You should be kind and courteous to those of your enemies who are your equals in rank, but if they over-top you, then the only remedy left to you is an appeal to the sword. You should engage in wars and battles only after long deliberation: for war is like trade which either succeeds or fails. Hence prior to the commencement of hostilities, you should weigh the matter carefully, and if an amicable settlement is possible, you should not incline to war, except in the case of war against infidels.

Your worst enemies are those who have lost their kingdom; for in their heart, they will never be your friends even if you were not the cause of the downfall of their kingdom. They will feel envious when they see the kingdom in your hands. You should be alert and vigilant with them, and should always keep them downhearted You should hide your secrets from such people. Know that it sometimes happens that a friend turns an enemy, but an enemy will never become a friend You should befriend your relatives and kinsmen, and be gracious to the young and respectful to the elders. but you should not tolerate anyone who covets your kingdom. You should keep him depressed and down-trodden, and as long as custody and imprisonment are sufficient, you should refrain from the use of the sword; but if you find that imprisonment is of no avail, then you are excused (if you use the sword)

You should always keep spies to bring you news of foreign kingdoms and armies and of distant cities In your own kingdom and cities, you should keep honest *Barīds* (couriers or news-writers) so that they may keep you acquainted with the condition of the people, and of the justice and righteousness of your *'Āmils*. Every night before you have said your night prayer, you should have obtained detailed information about your country, so that your affairs should prosper. You should know the revenue and expenditure of your kingdom, and should not be negligent of your secretaries and

wazirs; for sometimes the secretaries become dishonest, make common cause with the *'Amils*, and embezzle public money. You should pull in their reins from time to time. You should remember all that I have said to you and engrave it on your heart so that you may be among the fortunate ones.

This is my counsel and injunction to you, (by offering which) I have removed the responsibility from off my shoulders. AND GOD IS THE BEST KNOWER AND JUDGE

Some Developments in the use of Latin Character for the Writing of Kurdish

By C. J EDMONDS

IN the *JRAS.* of January, 1931, I offered some "Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish". A certain number of changes in these first proposals subsequently appeared desirable in the light of criticism and of further experiment and experience. In the meantime Tewfiq Wehbi Beg, on whose modified Arabic alphabet my suggestions had been based, finding that his new system made little appeal to his compatriots, decided to abandon it, for the purposes of his future work, in favour of Latin European students of Iranian philology will welcome the appearance in Latin character of the work of an accomplished native Kurdish scholar, how far the books now in the press and under preparation will appeal to other Kurds remains to be seen

The following modifications of the first system have recommended themselves .—

(1) The distinction between *d* and *dh*, *t* and *th*, described as being restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only, has been abandoned, with a view to making the system as widely acceptable as possible.

(2) The preservation of the distinction between the two *h*'s for the sake of three or four native Kurdish words (only the sophisticated mark the distinction in Arabic borrowings) appeared hardly justified, and has been abandoned.

(3) The letter *x* is thus released to replace *kh*.

(4) The adoption of the letter *j* with the German value proved most unpopular not only with English but also with Kurdish critics ; the difficulty has been met by using *y* both with its English consonantal value and also for pure short *i*, a comparatively rare sound in Kurdish.

(5) The letter *i* now represents the neutral vowel (except as provided by rules (8) and (13) below), to use a letter with a diacritical mark would have been out of the question owing to the high frequency of this sound.

(6) The letter *j* is thus released for use with its Turkish, i.e. the French, value, this may be distasteful to English readers but is liked by Kurds.

(7) The sound for which the rather clumsy digraph *uy* was first suggested is now represented by *o* and since the sound is rare little violence is done to the principle of avoiding diacritical marks, it is not spoken alike by all Kurds the majority seem to pronounce it like French *ué* but with the two vowel sounds run more together, it is not *wé*

(8) Long *i* is now written *iy* (instead of *ii*) except after a vowel when it is written *yi* since the combination of the neutral vowel and pure short *i* must form long *i* (see rule (*e*) at p 34 of the "Suggestions") no difficulty arises, thus *bi-xo* "eat!" makes *bi y xo* i.e. *biy xo* "eat it"

(9) Similarly long *u* is now written *uw* instead of *uu*, after a vowel it is *wu*

(10) Hemze is no longer represented since it appears, except as the initial soft breathing, in no native Kurdish words, and in Arabic borrowings merely has the effect of lengthening the adjacent vowel Vowels found in juxtaposition are pronounced separately

(11) Similarly ' for 'ain is no longer considered as a letter of the alphabet, it is detected as an initial sound in a very few native Kurdish words, in Arabic borrowings it generally, like hemze, lengthens the adjacent vowel, and sometimes, at the beginning of a word, aspirates it thus عباس makes Hebbas, عمر makes Homer, in his recent work كرد و كردستان (Dar-ul-Islam Press, Baghdad 1931) Amin Zaki Bey, recently Minister of Economics and Communications in the Iraqi Cabinet, who seldom spells Arabic words otherwise than in the correct Arabic way, writes on

p. 2 موتالا for مطالعه; where it is desired to represent the ع in a borrowed word the symbol ' can nevertheless be used unobjectionably.

(12) In consequence of (10) the apostrophe becomes available for its natural function of representing an elided vowel: *l'êrewe* for *le êrewe* "from here".

(13) Since a syllable cannot begin with the neutral vowel, initial pure short ı is written ı and not *y*.

These modifications, which all arise out of the abandonment of the superfluous symbols *dh*, *th*, *x* (for ح), ' and ' (for hemze), and the adoption of ı for the neutral vowel, have been achieved without violence to the fundamental principles (1) that diacritical marks must be reduced to a minimum, and (2) that the system must be adequate to reproduce the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar.

A restatement of the five rules given in the "Suggestions" (p. 34 of the JOURNAL, January, 1931) now becomes necessary.

(*a*) This rule must be worded as follows: "The vowel *u*, if brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, is changed into *w*, e.g. *kewtı-bu* "he had fallen", makes the subjunctive *kewtı-bw-aye*; other vowels in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.[1]

(*b*) This rule holds *mutatis mutandis* and might read: The combination *iyy* is not possible and is shortened to *iy*, the suppressed letter being represented by apostrophe; thus, *tanciy* "gazelle-hound" makes *tanci'yan* "their gazelle-hound", not *tanciyyan*, and *tanciy' Puwsho* "Pûsho's hound", not *tanciy y Puwshọ*.

(*c*) The rule holds *mutatis mutandis*, but further experience has suggested that the fall of the accent in some measure limits freedom in the dropping of the neutral vowel; e.g. *leshkır* "army" makes *leshkreke* "the army"

[1] Such juxtaposition occurs as a result of dropping the symbol for hemze in pure Kurdish words only when the present tense particle *de* is prefixed to a verb beginning with a vowel.

(since the definite article *-eke* takes the accent), but *leshkirêk* "an army" (since the indefinite article *êk* does not take the accent).

(*d*) With the dropping of the hemze the need for this statement disappears. A word like *serêshe* "headache" is simply written as one word; a new convention regarding the preposition *e*, "to" is referred to below.

(*e*) The new orthography represents this change of sound automatically and no statement of rule is necessary (see modification No. 8 above).

The alphabet now being used by the leading native Kurdish philologist thus contains thirty-three letters (instead of the thirty-eight of the original "Suggestions"); these are the ordinary twenty-six letters, with two vowels having diacritical marks *ê* and *ô*, and five digraph consonants, *ch*, *gh*, *lh*, *rh*, *sh*.

TABLE

a always long as in father
b as in English
c with Turkish value, English *j*
ch as in English church
d as in English
e short *a* as in English bat
ê the open sound, not the diphthong which is *ey*
f as in English
g as in English
gh as in Arabic *ghain*
h as in English
i the neutral vowel
j with Turkish value, French *j*
k as in English
l as in English
lh velar *l*
m as in English
n as in English
o always long
ô like French *ou*
p as in English

q guttural *k*.
r as in English.
rh rolled *r*.
s always sibilant.
sh as in English.
t as in English.
u always short.
v as in English
w bilabial.
x as Arabic خ.
y consonant as in English and also short pure *i*.
z as in English.

The following examples are appended to illustrate the modified system :—

I. "The Adventure of the Goat-herd," with translation.

II Kurdish translation of an extract from the Simon report.

No. II is something of a *tour de force* done for me by a group of Kurdish friends. The intention of the inclusion of this is to suggest that the Kurdish language is so rich as to be capable of expressing any normal conception of the European mind almost without recourse to borrowing.

For greater clearness the izafe *y*, the preposition *e* "to" (with its compounds *enaw* "into the middle of", *eser* "to the top of", etc., which are easily recognizable in that they are not followed by izafe), and the conjunction *u* "and" (except in compounds) are written separately; they must, however, be pronounced in liaison with the preceding word. Kurdish is particularly rich in compounds in every part of speech, and it is not always easy to judge how far the component parts should be written together or separately, or how far the aid of hyphens should be resorted to. In the examples I have endeavoured to follow consistently a set of experimental conventional rules, but it would be premature to state them at this stage.

EXAMPLE I

Beser Hat y Xawensabrên

Piyawêk y ladêyi buw, sabrênêky hebu. zory xosh dewyst; herchiy xwardinêk y chaky des bikewtaye, derxward y ewy deda Jınekey leser eme rhıqy lêy helh sa we êwarêyêk legelh sabrênekey, l'em dê bo ew dê, dery kırdin. Kabra rhêy lê helhe buw, her derhoyı w nedegeyısht e dêyêk. Sabrênekey leber bırsêtıy w manduwıy desy kırd be harhjin. Kabra dılhy pêy suwta we be gıryanewe desy kird e mıly, we wuty. "Xozge bımırdmaye w tom wa nedıyaye"

L'ew demeda le nzıvkewe deng y segwerhêk hat; eme dêyê bu. rhuwy tê kırd Ke geyısht, chuw e berdem y malh y koxa; le dergav da. Jın v koxa hat epısht dergake we pırsıy "Ewe kêye?" Kabra pêv wut "Bıy kerewe, miywanım." Jıne ley gerhayewe "Koxa le ashe, derga nakemewe" Kabra goy neda yê, sabrênekey xıst eser shany w be serbanda ser kewt we chuw e xwarewe, legelh sabrênekeyda chuwn e kayenekewe

Buw be nıyweshew le dergayan da, koxajın chuw, kırdyewe Xawensabrên chawy pê kewt ke ewa koxajın legelh kabrayêkda des lemıl yek, be machu muwch gerhanewe w chuwn e juwrewe Lepash nextêk le derga drayewe. Xawensabrên temashay kırd ke ew kabraye v legelh jıne bu hat, xoy kuta ye kayenekewe Koxajınysh chuw, dergay kırdewe we dıywanewe legelh kabravêk y tazehatuw be machu muwch gerhayewe, we chuwn e juwrewe.

Hemdıysan le derga drayewe, kabra v duwemysh xoy kuta ye kayenekewe. Xawensabrên rhuwy tê kırdın: "Bragel pê nenên we sabrênekema" Kabrakan, ke em dengeyan byst le tarıkayıvekeda, pêyda helh shaxıyn: "Wie, deng meke

Jine chuwbu be deng v dergawe, tumez eme mêrdekey bu ke le ash art y alestay des kewtıbu, legelh genımekeyda gorhıybuyewe w be pêchewane y hıywa y koxajin zuw gerhabwewe Jıne dergakey lê kırdewe, we pêkewe hatin e bewabê Lewêwe koxa pıyawekey, ke leber derga westabu,

we nawy Cherkeaiy bu, bang kird : "Cherkesiy!" Xawensabrên le kayênekewe qiyrandy : "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn." Kōxa l'em denge sery suwrh ma ; diysanewe bangy kird : "Cherkesiy!" we goy girt. Xawensabrên be mirqe mirq hawary kird : "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn ; eyhawar ! kushtyanim." Duw kabrake y dyke desyan kirdibu be siyxurme têwejandiny, belham, ke zaniyan ewa koxa berew kayên d'êt, boy der chun. Koxa chuw e juwrewe, xawensabrêny be diz zaniy w deey kird be tê helhdany we lêy helh kêsha ye xencer ke biy kujêt. Kabra y tayen, ke chawy be xencer kewt, sabrênu mabrêny becê hêsht u der perhiy w rhuwy kird e dêyêk y dyke.

Weku cardy le derga y malh y koxay da. Koxajin pirsiy "Ewe kêye?" Xawensabrên wuty : "Miywanim, biy kerewe.' Koxajin wuty "Koxa le ashe ; nay kemewe." Kabra y xawensabrên weku car y pêshuw goy neda yê we be serbanda chuw e xwarewe w l'ewêwe bonaw kayêneke.

Le prhêka le derga dra. Xawensabrên dilhy da xurpa ; wuty : "Hemysan tê helhdan nebêt?" Koxajin dergakey kirdewe w babayêky kird e juwrewe. Kayêneke beramber be hodew heywaneke bu, xawensabrên l'ewêwe chawy lê bu ke jineke kabray le hodeke da na, xoy hat e derewe, le heywaneke agirêky kirdewe, taweyêky xist eser, shtêky lê na w day girt ke sard bêtewe, we chuwewe juwrê. Xawensabrên y le birsda mirduw helh sa, be penapena chuw eser taweke ; gezow rhony têda bu ; desy kird be xwardiny. Ke be layen y xoyda wurd bwewe le heywanekeda beranêk y dabestrawy diy. Chuw, beranekey kirdewe w hênay, ewe y lebery mabwewe suwy le demu lmoz u sim y beraneke. Beranysh ney kird e namerdiy ; le nakawda qochêky le pishtewe lê da, lepew rhuw frhêy da yenaw derk y juwrekewe. Xawensabrên hawarêky kird "Eyhawar ! Bawke rho ! Pishtim shka." Kabra w koxajin l'em denge rha perhiyn we pirsiyan : "To kêyt, krambawgaw?" we pelamaryan da yê w desyan kird be tê helhdany. Duwbare le derga dra. Be herduwkyan xawensabrênyan helh girt u xistyan e

kenduweke y ardewe; we jine'sh kabrakey na yenaw tenguwrekewe w pneyêky xist eser, we chuw dergakey kirdewe.

Tumez em kõxaye'sh ard y alêstay des kewtibu, genimekey pê gorhiybwewe w be bedbextiy' koxajin xêra gerhabwewe. Kõxa be barashewe hat e juwrê, we be jiney wut. "Ard y nawborheke biker e kenduwekewe" Jine wuty. "Pele pely chiye? Beyaniy' Koxa pêy lê da girt, wuty. "Her debêt êsta horheke betalh keyt" Jine her xoy lê la deda; koxa pelamar y horhy da, birdy eser kenduw y xawensabrên, we desy kird be ard rhjandin e nawyewe. Hêshta horheke niywey mabu, kenduw pirh buw Koxa pirsiy "Afret, xo to wutit ardman nemawe!" Jine y zerd helhgerhaw wuty "Lepash to biyrim kewtewe ke ardman mawe"

Koxa neqiyzeyêky girt be desewe we peyta peyta kirdy be kenduwekeda ke ardeke chak bichet e xwarewe. Em neqiyzane dekewtin le seru golak y xawensabrên, ke le tawana xoy rha piskand, kenduwy kird be duw kertewe w der perhiy Koxa, ke chawy be em kabra ardawiye w seru chaw xonawiye kewt, be enokey zaniy, da chilhekiy we hawary kird "Naw y Xwa! A! Afret ew tfengem bo b'êne."

Xawensabrên y zaretrek desy kird be lalhanewe "Boch dem kujyt? Min her gezow rhonekem xwardibu; sza y xom diy belham berchis kirdy Agha y nawtenguwr kirdy, emca nore y ew bêt' Kabra y nawtenduwr, ke emey byst, der perhiy e derewe, xeriyk bu boy der chê, koxa qiyrh girty. Be Xwa, legelh koxada kewtin e seru golhak y vektiry L'em belhkewteda xawensabren perhiy e serban Lewê temashay kird ke leshy be dwavda nayet wuty "Xo, emane minyan kusht, ba tolhevan lê bikemewe"

Gerha bo bende, pevanda bikeshet, kurtanêky le serbaneke dosiyewe, xisty eser serv we hat eqeragh serbaneke ke biy kêshêt beser henduw kabrada ke le hewshê le yek ber buwbun. Ney zaniy ke qushqun y kurtaneke kewtuwet episht mily, hêzy da ye xoy ke biy da be seryanda, qushqun ewyshy rhapêch kird, kabra girmha be xoy u kurtanewe

kewt e xwarewe; nqeyêky lê'we der hat: "Bawke rho! Psam."

Sherhkerekan desyan l'êk ber bu, we kabra y dosteyan boy der chu. Köxa emca pelamar y xawensabrêny da w desy kird be tê helhdany. Xawensabrên wuty: "Besye; mem kuje; rhastiyeket pê bêjim." Köxa desy lê ber da; xawensabrênysh ew shewe chiy' beser hatibu boy gêrhayewe. Leser eme köxa jınekey der kird we kerêk u tuwrekeyê ardy da be xawensabrên we nardyewe dêyeke y xoy.

Mınysh hatmewe w hychyan nedam ê.

TRANSLATION

The Adventure of the Goatherd

There was a villager; he had a billy-goat; he was very fond (of it); whatever good food came to hand he used to give it to it to eat. His wife thereupon got annoyed and one evening turned them, him with his billy-goat, right out of the village. The fellow lost his way; he kept going on and not arriving at any village. His billy-goat began to whimper with hunger and fatigue. The fellow's heart burned for it and he tearfully put his arms round its neck and said: "Would that I might die and not see thee thus."

At that moment there came a sound of barking from nearby; this was a village; he turned towards (it). When he arrived he went to the front of the headman's house; he knocked on the door The headman's wife came to behind the door and asked · "Who is that?" The fellow said to (her): "Open it, I am a guest." The woman answered (him): "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open the door." The fellow did not listen to (her); he hoisted the billy-goat on his shoulder and climbed up on the roof and went down; they went, he with the billy-goat, to the straw-store.

Midnight came; someone knocked on the door; the headman's wife went and opened (it). The goat-herd saw that, lo, the headman's wife and a fellow came back, arms round

each other's necks, kissing and bussing, and went into the room. After a little there was a knock on the door. The goat-herd saw that that fellow who was with the woman came and thrust himself into the straw-store. The headman's wife also went, opened the door, and again came back with a new-comer, kissing and bussing, and they went into the room.

Yet again there was a knock on the door, the second fellow also thrust himself into the straw-store. The goat-herd turned towards them "Don't tread atop o' my billy-goat, mates" The fellows, when they heard this sound in the darkness, scolded him "Sh-sh, don't make a noise."

The woman had gone to investigate the noise at the door; but this was her husband, who had found flour ready at the mill, had exchanged (it) for his wheat and returned early, contrary to the expectation of the headman's wife. The woman opened the door to (him) and together they came into the courtyard From there the headman called his man who was standing in front of the door and whose name was Homany "Homany!" The goat-herd bawled from the straw store "We are three men and a billy-goat!" The headman was astonished at this sound, again he called "Homany!" and listened The goat-herd yelled plaintively: "We are three men and a billy-goat . . . Help! They have killed me" The two other fellows had begun to punch him, but when they realized that, lo, the headman is coming towards the straw store they decamped The headman went into the room, he took the goat-herd for a thief and began to thrash him, and threatened him with a dagger, to kill him. The poor fellow, when he saw the dagger, abandoned billy-goat and all and fled and made towards another village.

Like last time he knocked at the door of the headman. The headman's wife asked "Who is that?" The goat-herd said "I am a guest, open it." The headman's wife said: "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open it." The goat-herd fellow, as the time before, did not listen to (her)

and by the roof went down and from there inside the straw-store.

At once there was a knock on the door; the goat-herd's heart beat fast; he said: "I hope there will be no thrashing again." The headman's wife opened the door and let an individual into her room. The straw-store was opposite the room with the verandah; from there the goat-herd could see that the woman put the man in the room and herself came outside; she made a fire on the verandah, put on a frying-pan, cooked something and took it off to cool; and she went into the room. The famished goat-herd got up and went stealthily up to the frying-pan; it had manna and butter-sauce in it, he began to eat it. When he had taken in what was around him he saw a ram tied up on the verandah. He went and untied the ram and proceeded to wipe his leavings over the muzzle and feet of the ram The ram did not fail to play the man. Unexpectedly he gave him a butt behind and threw him sprawling into the doorway of the room. The goat-herd gave a yell "Help! Mercy on an orphan! My back is broken." The fellow and the headman's wife started at this sound and asked: "Who are you, son of sin?" And they attacked (him) and began to thrash him. A second time there was a knock on the door. The two of them picked up the goat-herd and put him into the flour-jar, and the woman too put the fellow into the oven and set the pastry-board on top, and went and opened the door.

But this headman too had found ready-milled flour, had exchanged the wheat for (it) and, unfortunately for the headman's wife, had come back quickly The headman came into the room with the mill-load and said to the wife: "Put the sackful of flour into the jar." The wife said: "What's the hurry? To-morrow." The headman insisted and said. "All the same you must empty the sack now." The wife kept trying to avoid it; the headman rushed at the sack, carried it on to the goat-herd's jar, and began to pour flour into it. Half the sack was still left when the jar was

full. The headman asked: "Woman, you said, didn't you, that we had no flour left." The wife, coming over all pale, said: "After you (had gone) I remembered that we had some flour left."

The headman took up a goad and pushed it into the jar so that the flour should go well down. These prods kept coming down on the goat-herd's cranium so that in consequence he struggled with his elbows, broke the jar in two pieces, and jumped out The headman, when he saw this fellow all covered with flour and with his head bleeding, took (him) for a demon, started up and yelled "'S truth! Ho! Woman! bring me that gun"

The terrified goat-herd began to implore "Why will you kill me! I had only eaten the manna and butter-sauce; I have had my punishment whatever anyone has done the gent in the oven did, so let it be his turn' The fellow in the oven, when he heard this, jumped out, he was about to decamp, the headman gripped him. Then, by God, he and the headman fell to scragging each other. At this juncture the goat herd fled to the roof, there he saw that he can hardly drag himself along he said "Well, they knocked me about, let me have my revenge on them"

He looked about for a stone to throw at them, he found a pack saddle on the roof, he put (it) on his head and came to the edge of the roof to throw it at the two fellows who had set about each other in the court-yard. He did not know that the crupper of the pack-saddle has fallen behind his neck, he braced himself to throw it on to their heads; the crupper dragged him along, too, the fellow bumped and fell down below, (himself), pack-saddle, and all, a gasp escaped from him 'Mercy on an orphan! I'm bust."

The combatants broke apart and the lover fellow decamped. Then the headman rushed at the goat-herd and began to thrash him. The goat-herd said "That's enough; don't kill me Let me tell you the truth." The headman took his hands off him, the goat-herd, too, that night related

to (him) what had happened to him. Thereupon the headman expelled (his) wife and gave the goat-herd a donkey and a bag of flour and sent (him) back to his own village.

I too have come back and they gave me nothing.

Example II

Kurdish Translation of an extract from the Simon Report

15. Komelhe gewre y nawcheyi' Asiya, bo la y rhojawa, b'ew dıyw Uralekan-da, ew kerte kyshwerey frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Ewruwpa, we bo la y niywe rho, b'ew diyw qorte here berzeke y Hymalaye-yshda, ew kerte kyshwerey frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Hyndistan. Gelê rheg y cocheshn, ke hemuw le yek rhechelhak y Ariy buwn we ke, rhenge, le serdemêk y zor konda her le nawcheyêkewe kochyan kırdıbêt, xoyan l'em duw kerte kyshwereda da mezranduwe. Cêga y hatinyan, we besh y têkelhawi'yan legelh rhegekan y tir we legelh rhege kontrekan, babet y gumane, we zor qse helh degrêt. Herchy Hyndistane, l'ewêda, her chonê bê, weku le dwayida hel y lêy dwanman des dekewêt, ȷmareyêk y zor gewre, ke birhwa dekrêt ke wêne y danyshtuwekan y ber le Ariyekan bin, we gelêk y tir, ke le serchawe y tirewe tê rhȷawın, legelh netewe y Ariye dagıyr kerekanda, be têkelhawiyê mawnetewe. Gelê sharistanêtiy heye, ke legelh hiy Hyndistan le koniyda hawtan, we ke be tewawiy beser chuwn; belham le zor y Hyndıstan-da temashayêk y negorhaw bo jiyan, bastanêk y yekbiyneyi' komelhiy, we feylesuwfiyêk y taybetiy' payedar heye. Yasayı' Hynduw êstaysh firmanber y l'êk danewe y nawerok y Vêdakane. Ew cheshne pezyshkiyane, ke legelh Hyppokrates-da hawdem buwn, êsta'sh bekar hên u pêwe nuwsawyan heye. Legelh ew arezuwe gewreye'shda, ke Hyndistan y siyasıy pêyewe biyre bawekan y dewlhetgêrhiy des lemil dekat, terze kon y komelhiy' Hynduwayetiy, ke, her le Bramen-ewe biy gre heta dêt eser Glhawekan, têkelhawiyêk y chiynchiyn y hozêk y bêjmarey da bênawe, ke beser jiyan u biyr y le duw sed milwên ptir y danyshtuwekan y sê sed u biyst milwêniy' Hyndistan-da be rhiq we deselhatêk

y ewtowe le zalhıyda payedare, ke le gêtiy' rhojawada be xew nebiynrawe.

Original English

The central mass of Asia throws out to the west, beyond the Urals, the sub-continent which we call Europe, and to the south, beyond the higher barrier of the Himalayas, the sub-continent which we call India. Various races of the same Aryan stock, presumably migrating from some common centre in distant ages, have established themselves in both these sub-continents. Whence they came, and what proportions they bear to other and earlier races, are matters of doubt and controversy. In the case of India, at any rate, there remain intermingled with the descendants of Aryan invaders, as we shall have occasion to point out later on, very large numbers who are believed to represent pre-Aryan inhabitants, as well as considerable infiltrations from other sources. There are civilizations of equal antiquity with that of India which have passed completely away; but in much of India there is an unchanged outlook on life, a continuing social tradition and a characteristic philosophy that endures. Hindu orthodoxy is still governed by interpretations of the contents of the Vedas. Systems of medicine which are coeval with Hippocrates still have their exponents and their adherents. In spite of the eagerness with which political India is embracing modern ideas of government, the ancient social system of Hinduism, which has evolved a rigid complication of innumerable castes, from the Brahmin at the top to the pariah at the bottom, continues to control the lives and thoughts of more than two hundred out of the three hundred and twenty millions of the population of India with a persistence and authority undreamed of in the Western world.

Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet

By V. MINORSKY

MR. C. J. EDMONDS'S "Suggestions for the use of Latin characters in the writing of Kurdish" merit the attention of all those interested practically and theoretically in Kurdish, for no one probably has had better opportunities for studying the practical side of the question than Mr. Edmonds in his surrounding of Kurdish intelligentsia.

The inconvenient side of all Semitic alphabets is their disregard of vowels (not only short ones, but some of the long ones and the diphthongs). Those alphabets are sufficiently adapted to the languages for which they were invented and in which the consonantic frame (cf. Arabic, mostly triliteral, roots) forms the real backbone of the word of which the basic sense is more or less recognizable from the consonantic symbols.

This system is entirely unsuitable for languages with a developed vocalic system where vowels are not accessories of the consonantic frame but integral parts of the stem. In Kurdish *dār* "tree" and *dūr* "far" have nothing to do with each other in spite of their similar consonantic frame (*d r*). Here the vowels make all the difference of the basic meaning, whereas the vocalic system itself is considerably complicated by the existence of *ē*, *ō* (> *u̯ē*) which the Arabs in their own terminology call *majhūl*, i.e. "unknown" to themselves.

The Arabic script has been occasionally used for writing many different languages (Albanian, Turkish, Malay, numerous Caucasian, African, and Indian idioms and occasionally even Spanish and Serbian), but whenever the considerations of direct convenience of the writing were no more obscured by any reflexions of political and religious order, phonetic alphabets have triumphed all along the line.[1]

[1] We leave for the moment out of the question such languages with developed literatures closely associated with Muslim (Arabic) culture, as Persian, for instance.

Nothing can be said against the special phonetic alphabets of long standing, such as Greek, Russian, Armenian, Georgian, well adapted to their object, but as the Latin script is the most widespread in the world and has reached the highest technical perfection in its printed form (artistic consistency of the outer form of the whole scale of signs, lack of confusion in characters, existence of different varieties of type), only Latin script comes into question when a new form of phonetic script is under consideration for a language just acquiring a literary importance.

For the success of the reform in Kurdish it is essential that the Latin alphabet should be utilized in its most simple form with as few additions of conventional signs as possible. In this respect Mr Edmonds's effort to remain within the possibilities of the ordinary type seems quite comprehensible and well founded. The Kurdish alphabet as a practical instrument need not aim at an absolutely rigorous application of the principles: "Each sound to have a single and non-compound sign, each sound to be pronounced only in one way." For example, there is no practical inconvenience of writing *sh* (ش) instead of the Czecho-Slovakian *š* (whatever its well known scientific convenience in connection with the other special signs), or the Turkish *ş* (borrowed obviously from Rumanian).

I should formulate the principles underlying Mr. Edmonds's scheme as follows:

(1) Avoidance of any unusual signs which would embarrass the Kurdish presses.

(2) Use of double signs for "long" vowels (only in Mr Edmonds's first article[1]).

(3) Use of *h* after some consonants to connote some aberrant use of these characters.

(4) To these points I should add the desideratum of the slightest possible variance from the established use of the original Latin script. All alphabets are conventional and even if instead of *a*, *b*, *c* we write respectively *k*, *l*, *m* (as in

some unsophisticated schoolboys' cipher) it can be learnt after some practice, yet any queer functions of the familiar signs are apt to mislead the Kurds in the scientific study of their language in comparison with the other Iranian languages. In this respect the new Turkish alphabet, which gives a practical solution for local use, is certainly inconvenient for comparative purposes, such words as *gelecek* necessitating their retranscription into *gelejek*, etc. It is likewise undesirable to introduce new peculiar spellings for the words belonging to international scientific vocabulary.

The following are my more detailed observations on, and suggestions in regard to, the systems proposed by Mr. Edmonds in his two articles which hereafter will be respectively referred to as E 1 and E 2.

As regards the "long" vowels their exact duration as compared to that of the "short" ones may need some further investigation, but there is no doubt that the respective sounds of the two classes—*ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *a*, *i*, *u*—are felt as distinct phonemes, and, in the case of *ā* and *a*, differ in timbre; *ē* (closed sound palatalizing the preceding consonant) has no corresponding short sound; and *o* in *dost* and *xosh* (*xwosh* ?) (though entirely of distinct origin) seems to be confused in Kurdish while the typical treatment of the original long *ō* in Kurdish is the diphthong *uē* (with palatalization of the preceding consonant), e.g *k'uēr* (< *kōr*) "blind", *g'uēz* < *gōz* "nut". There is consequently no practical need for introducing a distinction of *ō* and *o* but the sign *o* (E 2) will be quite welcome as a comparatively simple conventional expression for *uē*, and find its justification in the etymological origin of this sound (from *ō*).

Following the principle of reduplication of the characters in order to express the length of a vowel, I should write *aa* for Kurdish long *ā* and leave simple *a* for its corresponding short sound. Such a system is one of the practical characteristics of the Dutch script. As a matter of fact, short Kurdish *a* sounds like *ă* (cf. English "man"), or even

as a real short ä, while with the use of *e* (E 1 and E 2) we are distinctly drifting to a different class of sounds. The proposed use of *ae* and *ə* will allow us to restrict the use of *e* to the real *e* (see above). This unique *e* will be written without any diacritical sign (as against E 1 and E 2: *é*), just as in Sanskrit transcriptions *e* stands exclusively for a long *ē*.

The signs *u* and *i* are quite natural, but there exists in Kurdish a characteristic sound of an extra-short *i* perfectly distinguishable on account of its dull timbre. It somewhat reminds one of Russian ы (Polish *y*) and Turkish ı (ı) in *aldı* (آلدی), but is a furtive intermediate sound which for an untrained English ear would perhaps resemble the vowel in "but". In E 1 and E 2 it is conveniently expressed by *y* (cf. Polish *y*!), but it would be very desirable to reserve to *y* the obvious function of ى (English and French *y*). One could think then of the new Turkish ı (without dot), but even the Turks admit now that this sign is conducive to confusion and seem disposed to replace it by ï. As we have obtained the elimination of one character with diacritic sign (*é*) by a simple one, we could afford to introduce in the present case ï[1], but perhaps it would be more advantageous to adopt for our case ị (with a dot underneath) which would be better distinguishable from both ı and i and in case of emergency could be easily improvised by the printers: it would suffice for them to place an ordinary i upside down.

I should rather not follow E 2 in transcribing ū by *uw* and ī by *iy* for the "Dutch" principle of doubling letters of the long sounds seems to me to possess all the advantages of clearness,[2] but I should admit the use of *uw-* and *iy-* in the cases when the long ū and ī, being followed by a vowel, phonetically become a group composed respectively of

[1] The special signs in our alphabet would consequently remain restricted to two: ï and ə.

[2] In E 2 *y* has a threefold use for expressing consonantic *y*, short ı, and the length of ī (*iy*).

u + *w* or *i* + *y*. This orthographical rule would be conditioned in this special case by the phonetic modification.

Coming to the consonants I should reserve simple *j* and *c* respectively for ج and چ, in conformity with the very clearly established use (see the hallowed Sanskrit transcription) and the historical tradition of *c* which in all the systems derived from Latin stands for voiceless *k*, *č*, or *ts*. The only exception is the new Turkish alphabet, but we have mentioned its philological inadequacy for scientific purposes.

Zh and *sh* seem to be quite suitable expressions of ژ and ش logically consistent with *z* and *s* for ز and س.

The use of *h* as an auxiliary sign in *lh* and *rh* as differentiated from *l* and *r* is a happy idea already realized in Albanian script. Kurdish *lh* is a hard cerebral *ḷ* pronounced with the tip of the tongue upturned (a characteristic very distinct from Turkish and Russian hard *ḷ* (л); *rh* is the rolled *r* pronounced with the tip of the tongue (a similar distinction between *r* and *ṛ* exists in Armenian and Albanian).

As regards the harsh guttural sounds, the use of *x* for خ (as in Spanish, Greek, Russian) would be consistent with the general scientific practice As we connote the corresponding voiced غ by *gh*, it was first suggested (E 1) to express this sound with *xh*, but as خ is frequent in Kurdish the new simplification (E 2) will be very welcome. On the other hand, Mr. Edmonds feels inclined to disregard the ح sound, occurring in Kurdish, and not only in Arabic loan-words, but also in some purely Iranian words as حوت *hawt* " seven ". This sound, though rare, is very characteristic of Kurdish and I should allot to it precisely the conventional *xh*, where *-h*, following our practice, will indicate an aberrant use of the original symbol *x*.

Contrary to the Turks and Persians, the Kurds very naturally pronounce ع (and prefix it even to such an

Iranian word as *asp* "horse" which in Kurdish sounds عسپ). It would be helpful to express ع with an apostrophe whenever the Kurds pronounce it: *'ajbat* عجبت but there is of course no question of simply reproducing Arabic forms: if عباس and عثمان are pronounced Habbâs and Watmân they will be spelt accordingly.[1] On the contrary, there is no need to transcribe the Arabic *hamza* in the beginning and at the end of words (أسپ رجاء), though in the middle of words it would be helpful to express it by a hyphen هيئت *hay-at*.

Likewise no special mark of elision seems to be necessary in such words as *lērā* < *l'ērā*, any more than in separating the locative ending *-da*, but, if so desired, the same hyphen could be used for such purposes as well.

We need not be more precise about Kurdish sounds, as time will show what particular nuances and *sandhi* phenomena will be discovered by specialists in phonetics. Under this ruling come the Sulēmāni spirants δ (ذ) and θ (ث), which can hardly be considered as real phonemes and do not represent a general phenomenon even in southern Kurdish.

It must be finally well understood that the suggested Kurdish alphabet has in view principally the convenience and development of printing. As regards the writing in Kurdish considerable simplifications will be introduced in due course: for instance, double vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu* will be easily replaced by some signs like *ā*, *ī*, *ū* or *á*, *í*, *ú*. Many people in Europe instead of double consonants still write only one with a dash over it (as a substitute for an Arabic *tashdīd*). Kurdish orthography and calligraphy will follow their own ways, while we are trying to find some practical and simple solution of the fundamental problem of the basic alphabet.

[1] In handwriting ع could be expressed still better by spiritus asper ʽ.

The following is the comparative table of Kurdish sounds as figured in Mr. Edmonds's two articles and in my additional remarks :—

A. Vowels

	E 1.	E 2.	M.
ā	*a*	*a*	*aa*
ă (ä)	*e*	*e*	*a*
ē	*é*	*ê*	*e*
ī	*ıi*	*ıy*	*ıı*
ĭ	*ı*	*y*	*ı*
ɨ (dull)	*y*	*i*	*ɨ* (or *ı*)
o	*o*	*o*	*o*
u̯ē	*uy*	*o*	*o*
ū	*uu*	*uw*	*uu*
ŭ	*u*	*u*	*u*

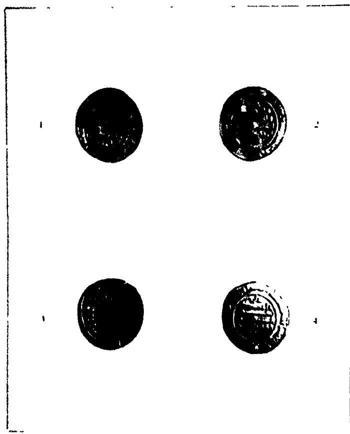
B. Consonants (disposed by groups) [1]

b	–	–	–
p	–	–	–
v	–	–	–
f	–	–	–
w	–	–	–
d	–	–	–
t	–	–	–
δ (ذ)	*dh*	?	?
θ (ث)	*th*	?	?
ǰ (ج)	*c*	*c*	*j*
č (چ)	*ch*	*ch*	*c*
k	–	–	–
g	–	–	–
ق	*q*	*q*	*q*
h	–	–	–

[1] — means "no change", and ? "not expressed".

غ	*gh*	*gh*	*gh*
خ	*xh*	*x*	*x*
ع	'	?	' or '
ح	*x*	*i*	*xh*
l	-	-	-
l	*lh*	*lh*	*lh*
r	-	-	-
r	*rh*	*rh*	*rh*
m			-
n			-
z	*z*	*z*	*z*
s	*s*	*s*	*s*
z (ژ)	*zh*	*j*	*zh*
s (ش)	*sh*	*sh*	*sh*
y (ی)	*y*	*y*	*y*

P.S. The above suggestions are based on the assumption that, for the facility of Kurdish printing, signs with diacritical points must be avoided as far as possible. On the other hand, as shown by the latest experiments in Erivan and Damascus, this practical consideration need not be overestimated. Under such conditions a more liberal use of diacritical points would very likely represent a further convenience and simplification in Kurdish writing.—V. M.



COINS OF THE ZANJ

Paris 1 Obverse 2 Reverse
London 3 Obverse 4 Reverse

To face p. [illegible]

A Rare Coin of the Zanj

By J WALKER

(PLATE V)

IN the British Museum there is a gold coin issued by the Zanj rebels, hitherto inedited, and consequently of sufficient historical importance to warrant special publication. There is, so far as the present writer is aware, only one other coin (also in gold) surviving as a witness of that disastrous Slave Revolt which is estimated to have cost over 1,000,000 lives This latter coin was published by Casanova in the *Revue Numismatique* (1893, pp. 510–516) and is now in the Paris Cabinet. By kind permission of the *Conservateur* I have been enabled to have it photographed. The mint in both instances is the same, but the specimen in the British Museum is three years earlier in date, and preserves for us a more complete portion of the peculiar reverse marginal legend, that enables us to emend to a great extent the conjectural rendering suggested by Casanova in his article above mentioned

The coin, which has been somewhat spoiled by having been mounted as a pendant, measures ·8 inches and weighs 65 5 grains. The inscriptions are as follows :—

Obverse.

Centre (in five lines).

لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | محمد ن | امير المومنين

Inner Margin.

سم الله ضرب هذا الديىر بالمدىة (*sic*) المختارة سىة احدى وستين وماتين

Outer Margin.

إن الله اشترى من المومين انفسهم واموالهم بأن لهم الجنة يقاتلون بسيل الله

Reverse.

Centre (in five lines)

على | محمد | رسول | الله | المهدى على بن محمد

Margin.

[1] ومن لم يحكم بما أنزل [الله فأولائك هم الكا]فرون
ألا لا حكم الا لله ولا طاعة لمن [عدا] الله

Translation

Obverse

Centre "*There is no God but God Alone He has no partner.* Muḥammad[2] the son of the Commander of the Faithful."

Inner Margin In the name of God this dīnār was minted in Al Madina al Mukhtāra in the year 261 (A.D. 874).

Outer Margin: "*Verily God has bought from the Faithful their persons and their goods at this price, that theirs is Paradise who fight in the Path of God.*"[3]

Reverse

Centre 'Ali *Muhammad is the Apostle of God* The Mahdi 'Ali the son of Muḥammad

Margin "*And whoso will not decide by what God has sent down* (i.e. by the divinely revealed Koran), *these are the Infidels*" Is it not the case that there is no decision (or jurisdiction) except God's, and no obedience to (be given to) any except God?

The first half of this marginal legend is a direct quotation from the Koran (v. 48). It is a statement that occurs three times in this same sūra, in verses 48, 49, and 51, the only difference in each case being in the final word الكافرون

[1] In the Paris specimen the legend begins at the bottom.

[2] This is no doubt the father of the false Mahdi, the Zanj leader, whose own name occurs on the reverse of the coin. This is in agreement with the statement of Tabari that the rebel put his own and his father's name on his banner.

[3] Koran, ix, 112.

(Infidels), الظالمون (Transgressors) and الفاسقون (Perverts). Casanova was uncertain which verse of the three was actually inscribed on the coin he described, since the legend was defective at this point. The present specimen, however, decisively indicates the ending of الكافرون of verse 48.

It will be recalled that the leader of the Zanj Insurrection, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, in whose name this coin was issued, was a Persian who claimed to be a direct descendant of 'Alī and of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter. On the strength of this he asserted that he was the *Mahdī*, the long-awaited spiritual Guide and hope of the 'Alid party. His cause won the fanatic adherence of large gangs of black slaves, or *Zanj*, who were originally from East Africa and Zanzibar, and were at that period engaged chiefly in saltpetre extraction in the marsh lands of the lower Tigris and Euphrates. The year A.H. 255 (A.D. 869) saw the rebels begin their campaign of terror and devastation throughout the land, until in 257 Baṣra itself was captured, pillaged, and its inhabitants, regardless of age and sex, ruthlessly exterminated.

A new town was founded by the Zanj somewhat below Basra and given the title of "The Elect City" (*Al-Madīna al-Mukhtāra*) As the negro headquarters it remained until the 'Abbāsid Caliph's brother Al-Muwaffaḳ, after several years of warfare, finally quelled the outlaws and put an end to the city's ephemeral existence in A.H. 270. Its exact location is nowadays quite uncertain, so completely was it wiped out. The coin is, therefore, all the more valuable as a relic of its short-lived importance

We know from Ṭabarī (III, vi, 1748–9) that on his banner the "Mahdī" flourished the Koranic verse (IX, 112) part of which, as we have seen above, also appeared on the obverse of his coins. This seems to have been a clever stroke of policy on his part, for the verse could be interpreted to his slave adherents to signify their redemption from slavery and equality with their masters, provided they took up arms

against all corrupt Moslems and uncompromising infidels. On the other hand, the verse had for long been a favourite text of the Khārijites, or "Separatists", the anti-'Alid party of primitive Islam, who professed to have sold themselves to God on the terms specified—the reward of Paradise. They had for many decades gloried in the title of Shurāt or "Sellers".[1]

It seems strange, indeed, that this self-styled descendant of 'Alī, who is even referred to in the annals as the 'Alid (العلوى), should adopt as his guiding principle a Koranic text that had been for generations the watchword of the bigoted opponents of 'Alī and his faction ever since the eventful decision of the umpires in A.H. 37. Let the Koran settle the issue, had then been the proposed basis of reconciliation. To this, after reflection, the Khawārij had advanced the non-Koranic formula, لا حكم الا لله ولا حكم للرجال "*There is no jurisdiction except God's, and no jurisdiction* (belongs) *to men*".[2] That is, let the sword of Allah bring victory to all true believers. Their intention was to overthrow the Caliphate and all idea of allegiance to princes and potentates, and to introduce an ideal theocratic state. It was a conception that, as can be imagined, found a ready acceptance among the servile and down trodden.

Rumour had it that the "Mahdi" was secretly a Khārijite. Mas'ūdī (*Murūj al-Dhahab*, viii, p. 31) records that his atrocious acts of indiscriminate slaughter and vandalism were in the best traditions of the Azāriḳa, the extreme Khārijite sectarians. He is also credited with employing that sect's war cry, mentioned above, لا حكم الا لله. Noldeke (*Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 151) emphatically considered him a Khārijite. "We should naturally," he writes, "have

[1] Based on Koran, iv, 76: "*Let those then fight in the Path of God who sell this present life for the next world.*"

[2] Usually curtailed to the first clause لا حكم الا لله.

expected to find him, like other 'Alids, appealing to the divine right of his house. But instead of this he declared himself for the doctrine of those most decided enemies of Shíite legitimism, the Khārijites or Zealots."

If the decipherment of the reverse legend, which I here tentatively propose, is correct, the coin supplies us with corroboration of the statement of contemporary historians, who might have been considered biased in their judgment of one who claimed to be the "Mahdī", but whom they called Al-Khabīth, the Reprobate. The Ṣāḥib al-Zanj *did* subscribe to the Khārijite formula and this rare coin, issued in his name and from his newly-founded capital, bears evidence to that fact.

157.



The Shang-Yin Dynasty and the An-yang Finds

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

(PLATES VI-IX)

THE fact seems strange that thirty years elapsed between the known discovery of inscribed bones and tortoise shells near An-yang and the first systematic exploration of the site. Towards the end of 1928 digging was begun by an expedition sent by the National Research Institute of History and Philology, and partly financed by the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. The work suffered from obstruction owing to the prevailing unrest, but several times it has been resumed, and three volumes have appeared under the title *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at An-yang*.[1] These give interim accounts of the varied results which provide important contributions to history and archæology.

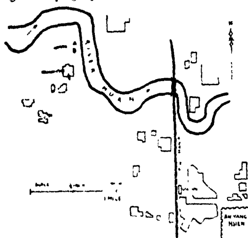
The Site

Hsiao-t'un 小屯 is a village in the north of Ho-nan lying about 2 miles north-west of the city which under the Republic has reverted to its ancient name of An-yang Hsien, the former name Chang-tê Fu 彰德府 being discarded. As may be

[1] 安陽發掘報告, written in Chinese and published in Pei-p'ing by the Academia Sinica pts. i and ii, 1929, pt iii, 1931. Notices of the finds have appeared in the *Ill London News*, 21st June, 1930, 1142–3, and 8th August, 1931, 222–3, 236, the *North-China Sunday News*, 26th July, 1931, 5, 12, and 2nd August, 1931, 3, 10, the last three articles being by H J Timperley. A general review by W. Eberhard, entitled *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen bei An-yang (Honan)*, appeared in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1932, 1–15 The official Reports will be referred to as *PREA* in this article Other abbreviations used are *ASB* for *Academia Sinica Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, *CC* for Legge's *Chinese Classics*, *JRAS* for the *Jour. of the Roy. Asiatic Soc*; *KS* for the *Yin-hsü shu ch'i k'ao shih* 殷虛書契考釋, revised edition of 1927, by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉, and *MH* for Chavannes' *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*. I take this opportunity gratefully to acknowledge help from Mr L. C Hopkins, Prof B. Karlgren and Prof A C Moule.

seen from the accompanying sketch-map,[1] the village is within a sharp bend of the tortuous Huan River 洹水[2] which flows in an easterly direction to the north of it.

Until recently little has been published concerning the Hsiao-t'un site. Probably the first Western observer was J. M. Menzies, who early in 1914 found potsherds and inscribed bone fragments lying upon the fields and a sandy waste to



the north of the village.[3] That year the place was visited by the noted archaeologist Lo Chen-yu, who has published an account in a diary of his travels.[4] He found numerous uninscribed fragments of bones and tortoise shells and the shells of a large bivalve lying upon the fields over an area of about 7 acres. He says that, between the crops, the villagers in

[1] Based on the map in PRE ..., which includes a scale showing Hsiao-t'un to be 6 kilometres from An-yang. It is corrected here to half that distance.

[2] The seventh-century commentator Yen Shih-ku 彥師古 notes that the name should be pronounced thus, the vulgar version Yuan not being correct. v. Ch'ien Han shu, xxxi, 10.

[3] v. *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (Shanghai, 1917), pp. 1 and 2, by this author.

[4] *Wu shih jih mêng hên lu* 五十日夢痕錄, p. 20 seq., included in the miscellany *Hsüeh t'ang ts'ung k'o* 雪堂叢刻, undated.

search of objects dig pits in their fields, sometimes to the depth of 20 feet, and fill them in again.

A complete account of the general appearance of the land within the loop of the Huan is given by O. Karlbeck, who visited the site in 1929.[1] He says that this area appears to be quite flat. "The north bank of the stream has a very gentle slope, an indication that the bed of the stream was once further north. In places the south bank, on the other hand, is quite steep, almost sheer in fact, and is therefore, in times of exceptionally heavy rains, subject to slips and erosion It was probably owing to some such slip that the inscribed bones were first discovered. This, I was told, occurred north of the village." The slope of the southern bank is slight up to the right-angled bend to the east of the village Here it becomes almost vertical and its height is from 10 to 14 feet Searchers for relics had dug into this bank, starting at points between 6 and 7 feet from the top and cutting obliquely to levels below the foot. Visible in all the pits was a layer of "wood ash mixed with earth" at a depth of about 10 feet below the ground level. Above this layer no remains were visible except potsherds and human and animal bones close to the top of the bank. Below the ash layer were fragments of grey and red pottery, decorated with cord impressions. At one spot Karlbeck noticed a higher ash layer, about 5 feet below the surface. The fact that all the pits were carried down well below the foot of the bank indicates that here was a stratum in which objects were found.

Four sites, marked A, B, C, and D in the sketch-map, have been excavated by the aforesaid Chinese expedition, which was led by Li Chi 李濟 and Tung Tso-pin 董作賓. A and B are within the area which is believed to have been occupied by a Shang-Yin capital. The extent of this area has not yet been traced; much of the original site may have been washed

[1] v *Notes on the Archaeology of China* in the *Bull of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No 2 (1930), pp. 193 seq

away through changes in the course of the Huan. A study of the strata by Chang Wei-jan 張蔚然 [1] shows that the oldest level of habitation was several inches above the loess, into which the foundations of buildings were sunk. The building material was stamped earth and, of course, wood, now perished; neither bricks nor tiles have been found. Above the loess are alluvial layers, containing remains, alternating with cultural layers. There is evidence here of at least four floods which may have overwhelmed the dwellers—a fate common to all cities on the plain of the Yellow River. A point to be remembered is that before 602 B.C. the Yellow River turned northward at a point some 65 miles to the west of the present bend which is 20 miles east of K'ai-fêng. Thence it ran north-east in the direction of Tientsin, and thus passed some 15 miles east of An-yang. Therefore the city on this site at the time of the Shang-Yin dynasty was much more liable to invasion by the periodic floods of the river than would appear from present day conditions. The Huan entered the Yellow River in its old course and so provided a channel for inundations.

Sites C and D, in the village of Hsiao-t'un, differ from the two to the north. Dated tombs, opened by the expedition, prove that it was a burial ground about the beginning of the seventh century. The village itself is no older than the Ming dynasty.[2] On this site the ancient cultural remains were evidently deposited by a great flood which carried material thither from the direction of the Huan River. Perhaps it was a sudden catastrophe which destroyed the supposed Shang-Yin capital at a time when it was flourishing. Such an event would explain the presence of the vast quantity of inscribed tortoise shells and bones which surely were imperial archives, and were thus preserved by the mud from destruction which ordinarily would have overtaken them through war or other causes. It would explain, too, the fragmentary state

[1] *PREA*, ii, pp. 253-285.
[2] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, i, 38.

of these fragile archives, violently swept away from the place of storage. The main deposit of the Shang-Yin remains is below the seventh century tombs ; but there is another layer above them, evidently due to a later flood.

Enough has been said to indicate that the problem of stratification at the An-yang site is extremely complex. There is evidence that the place has been inhabited more or less continuously from neolithic times. The number of cultural phases represented by remains and the confusion caused through redeposits by floods renders the task of the archæologist most difficult. All sorts of factors have to be taken into account. For instance, the level of the deposit left by the major inundation varies greatly according to the surface contours at the time of the event, and also as regards different kinds of objects in relation to their weight. Sherds and bronzes, being heavy, sank more quickly and became embedded in a deeper layer, while the shells and bones were left lying near the top.[1]

Conditions near An-yang contrast with those obtaining where cities have suffered a sudden catastrophe resulting in the place being so deeply buried that everything has remained undisturbed *in situ*. Herculaneum and Pompeii naturally occur to one's mind, and there is a well-known Chinese example. In A D. 1108 the town of Chu-lu 鉅 鹿 was overwhelmed by a flood which left it under 20 feet of mud.[2] The town is in southern Ho-pei, 90 miles north of An-yang, and at that time the Yellow River ran some 50 miles to the east of it. Chance circumstances led to digging for objects of value in Chu-lu ; but there must be many other buried towns, around the lower course of the River, awaiting exploration.

Capitals of the Dynasty

Before attempting a brief survey of the finds, it seems fitting to inquire whether written tradition connects the An-yang

[1] v Li Chi, *PREA*, i, 44 seq.

[2] v. Pelliot, *La date des* "*Céramiques de Kiu-lou*", in *T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923), 377–382.

site with a capital of the Shang-Yin dynasty. First I take the *Shih chi* 史記, by Ssŭ ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, which, since it was written about the beginning of the first century B.C., has been accepted as a standard history of ancient China. The following outline is derived from Chavannes' translation of the text and commentators' notes on the place-names [1]

The ultimate ancestor of the House of Shang is said to have been Hsieh 契, who was enfeoffed by the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 towards the end of the third millennium B C. The fief of Shang 商, from which the dynasty took their name, is located in Shensi about 50 miles south of the right-angled bend of the Yellow River During a stretch of some 500 years, until the reign of the first sovereign of the dynasty, the Shang chieftains are supposed to have changed their headquarters eight times, but always within the same region. The first sovereign, T'ang 湯, moved eastward and established his capital at Po 亳. Three different places are identified with the name Po Southern and Northern Po were in the neighbourhood of Kuei te 歸德 in eastern Ho-nan; Western Po was about 160 miles to the west, at the confluence of the Rivers Lo and I 洛伊 T'ang is said to have lived first in Southern Po, then to have moved to Western Po, which in the dim past had been the headquarters of the legendary Emperor Kao Hsin 高辛 father of his ancestor Hsieh. The tenth sovereign [2] moved the capital to Ao 隞, which may have been some 50 miles to the north-east, not far south of the Yellow River, in the vicinity of the present-day Jung-tsê 滎澤 Thence the twelfth sovereign moved to Hsiang 相, some 30 miles south-east of An-yang His successor went 230 miles almost due west and set up the capital in Kêng 耿, on the north bank of the River Fen 汾 in Shan-hsi, not far from its entrance into the Yellow River. This was the capital when P'an Keng 盤庚 the nineteenth sovereign,

[1] *MH.* i. 174, 176, 191 4, 195, 200, 207

[2] Names of those sovereigns, who are here indicated only by their order of succession, may be found in the table on pp 670 and 671

came to the throne. In spite of opposition on the part of his subjects, he made another change, and, having crossed to the south of the Yellow River, restored Western Po to its former eminence as the capital city. Wu I 武乙, the twenty-seventh sovereign, abandoned Po and went to "north of the Yellow River".

The foregoing contains nothing that can be construed as a definite link with An-yang. Nor is it stated where Wu I established his capital, beyond the vague statement "north of the River". One surmise is that the site was at Ch'i 淇, north of Wei-hui 衛輝 and about 36 miles south of An-yang. Some support for this is found in the account of the last Shang-Yin sovereign's defeat and death, on the supposition that he continued in the capital established by Wu I. After the Chou victory on the Plain of Mu 牧野, said to lie to the south of Ch'i, the last sovereign fled to the Deer Terrace 鹿臺, where, having donned his imperial robes and surrounded himself with his treasures, he set fire to the place and was burnt to death. Perhaps the Terrace was within or close to the capital, and commentators have identified the site with the remains of a mound at Ch'i.

The existence of the finds near An-yang calls for a critical review of written accounts of the Shang-Yin capitals in order to discover a connection hitherto hardly recognized. According to generally accepted tradition, P'an Kêng renamed Po and called it Yin 殷, the designation thenceforth adopted by the dynasty.[1] The question whether this tale is credible is answered by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 in an article entitled

[1] Concerning the passage in the *Shih chi*, the second-century scholar Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄 notes that P'an Kêng "established the capital at Po, in the land of Yin. From the time of this move, the House of Shang changed their name and called themselves Yin". As to Po, the third-century scholar Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 places the site at the present-day Yen-shih 偃師, which lies close to the confluence of the Lo and I Rivers, as remarked above. v. *Shih chi*, III, 20 v°. References given in this article, unless otherwise stated, are to the text edited by P'ei Yin 裴駰 and printed in the Sung *Po na* copy reproduced by the Commercial Press.

Shuo Yin 說殷.[1] He says: "If since the time of the *Shih chi* everyone has identified Yin with Po, the mistake began with a wrong character in the *Preface to the Shu* in the *Shang shu in Modern Script* 今文尚書,[2] and the Grand Annalist repeated it. Where the *Preface to the Shu* says: 'P'an Kêng made the fifth change and proposed to establish his capital at Po Yin' [3] (the Ancient Script 古文 version being the same in the Ma and Chêng editions),[4] Shu Hsi 束晳 [5] remarks that the text of the *Book of History*, [found] in the wall of Confucius' [house],[6] gives the version: 'proposed first to dwell at Yin' [i.e. reading 始宅 instead of 治亳]. According to the

[1] V. *Kuan t'ang chi lin* 觀堂集林, ix, 16, 17, the first section of the first series of his collected works, published in 1927–8.

[2] The 29 sections of the *Book of History* as written in the new official script 隸書 in the second century B.C. when dictated from memory by the Master Fu 伏生 or Fu Sheng 伏勝.

[3] V. CC, iii, 7.

[4] Ma Jung 馬融 and Cheng Hsuan 鄭玄, famous commentators of the first and second centuries A.D.

[5] A noted scholar of the fourth century.

[6] The tradition is that Confucius compiled the *Book of History* in 100 sections. The work was temporarily lost at the time of the Burning of the Books (213 B.C.), but 29 sections were in the second century dictated from memory as noted above. A copy of the *Book* was said to have been among the texts, written in ancient characters formed like tadpoles 科斗, which were found at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C. in the hollow of a wall when the Prince of Lu 魯 began to demolish the dwelling of Confucius in order to make room for an extension of his palace. The inscribed slips were handed over for decipherment to K'ung An-kuo 孔安國, a descendant of the Sage. He transcribed them in the current *li* script with the aid of the Fu Sheng recension, and found that the latter's 29 sections should have been arranged in 34 sections. Besides these, he found 25 additional sections, making a total of 59, of which one was composed of preambles from the heads of the 100 original sections. This is known as the *k'o wên* or 'ancient figures' text 古文尚書. An-kuo's text was lost during the disorder about the end of the third century, and the alleged version of it, now extant, is generally considered to have been the spurious work of Mei Chi 梅賾 early in the fourth century. Doubt has also been thrown on the truth of the tradition concerning An-kuo's text. The subject is discussed by Legge in the *Prolegomena* of CC, iii, and by Pelliot in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, ii (1916), 123–177.

commentary of K'ung,[1] if the character *Po* had been rubbed and looked damaged, it might have been read as *chai* 宅."
There follows an argument which leads to several conclusions. First, no ancient text of unsuspected authenticity couples the place-names Po and Yin. Secondly, if P'an Kêng moved the capital to Po, he must have done so before he entered the territory lying within the large loop formed by the Yellow River, and after that transferred it to Yin. Moreover, this Yin was certainly the site of the finds, and it was known as Yin-hsü at any rate as early as the third century B.C.[2] In short, while discrediting the reliability of accepted tradition, Wang Kuo-wei extracts sufficient written evidence on which to base the theory that Yin-hsü became the capital under the nineteenth sovereign.

Lo Chên-yü, on the other hand, inclines to date the event in the reign of the twenty-seventh sovereign. A translation of his note[3] is as follows :—

"When commenting on the *Annals of the Yin Dynasty* 殷本紀 in the *Shih chi*, the *Chêng i* 正義 quotes the statement in the *Bamboo Annals*[4] 竹書紀年 to the effect that, during the '275 years which elapsed between P'an Kêng's move to Yin and the downfall of Chou 紂 [Hsin], there was no further transfer of capital '.[5] In the text of the same chapter of the

[1] K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達, A.D. 574–648.

[2] In proof thereof Wang Kuo-wei cites a passage in the biography of Hsiang Yü 項羽, *Ch'ien Han shu*, xxxi, 10 v°.

[3] *KS*, i, 1, 2

[4] The tradition is that these *Annals*, together with other texts also written on bamboo slips, were in A.D 281 found by robbers who broke open a royal tomb dating from about 299 B C The tomb was at Chi 汲 near Wei-hui 衛輝, in north Ho-nan. They were lost probably during the Sung period, and there is dispute as to the manner in which the current text was compiled to replace the lost one. Judged by excerpts from the old text surviving in T'ang writings, the present recension differs from the other. v. *MH*, v, 446–479, and Maspero, *T'oung Pao*, xxv (1927–8), 368, 386.

[5] This comment by the eighth-century scholar Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 appears in the 1908 standard edition of the *Shih chi*, iii, 5 r°, but the text has the obvious error "773 years", not "275". The passage here quoted from the *Bamboo Annals* does not occur in the extant text.

Shih chi it says: 'When Wu I ascended the throne, the Yin abandoned Po again and moved to north of the River'[1] (according to the *Table of Generations of the Three Dynasties* 三代世表, Kêng Ting was he who made the move to the north of the River).[2] The current version of the *Bamboo Annals* says regarding Wu I that in the third year of his reign he moved from Yin to north of the River, and that in the fifteenth year of his reign from north of the River he moved to Mei 沬.[3] Mr. Wang [Ying-lin][4] in his *Geography of the Book of Odes* 詩地理考 quotes the *Ti wang shih chi* 帝王世紀[5] to say: 'Ti I again crossed to north of the Yellow River and moved the capital to Chao-kê 朝歌' (the inference being that Ti I from north of the Huan River moved to Mei. Had he been already on the north of the Yellow River, it cannot be said that he 'crossed again'. A character must be wrongly written). This means that after P'an Kêng until the last reign [i.e. that of Chou Hsin] there were in all two moves. All the texts state that he moved 'north of the River', but omit to say which place.

"If we turn to the *Annals relating to Hsiang Yü* 項羽本紀 in the *Shih chi* we find: 'Hsiang Yü arranged a rendezvous on Yin-hsü to the south of the River Huan'.[6] The commentary *Chi chieh* 集解[7] quotes Ying Shao 應劭[8] as saying that 'the Huan River is within the boundary of T'ang-yin 湯陰 (i.e. the present day An-yang. In the Han period T'ang-yin 蕩陰 included the region of present-day An-yang). Yin-hsü was a former Yin capital.' Tsan[9] says: 'The Huan River is north of the present An-yang Hsien, and is distant 150 *li* from the Yin capital at Chao-kê.' Therefore this Yin-hsü is not Chao-kê.

"With reference to the *Yin Annals* in the *Shih chi*, the *Chêng i*

[1] *Shih chi*, III, 21 r.

[2] *Shih chi*, XIII, 4 v.

[3] *CC* III, Proleg., 137.

[4] 王應麟, A.D. 1223-1296. This work is included in the collection *Hsüeh chin t'ao yüan* 學津討原.

[5] By Huang-fu Mi. Only 13 passages of the original 55 chapters remain and are included in the collection of reprints called *Chih hai* 指海.

[6] *Shih chi*, VII, 7 v., and *MH* II, 272.

[7] By the fifth century author P'ei Yin 裴駰.

[8] First century A.D.

[9] Hsieh Tsan 薛瓚.

commentary quotes the *Kua ti chih* 括 地 志 [1] to the effect that An-yang in Hsiang Chou 相 州 was the original site of P'an Kêng's capital, and was the same as Pei-chung 北 冢, to the south of Yin-hsü and 148 *li* from the city of Chao-kê. [It also quotes] the *Bamboo Annals*,[2] saying: 'From Yen 奄 P'an Kêng moved to Pei-chung,[3] which was called Yin-hsü (the character *hsü* being a gloss), 40 *li* to the south of Yeh 鄴.' That was the old capital. Distant 30 *li* to the south-west of the city is the Huan River, from the southern bank of which the city of An-yang is 3 *li*. Westward was the city named Yin-hsü. This is what was called Pei-chung.

"According to the *Shui ching chu* 水 經 注 in the section relating to the Huan River [4]. 'The Huan River rises east of the mountains, and passes to the north of Yin-hsü.' Also it says that the Huan River passes from the east of Yeh to the north of the city of An-yang. Also it quotes the *Wei t'u ti chi* 魏 土 地 記 as saying 'that the city of An-yang is 40 *li* south of the city of Yeh, and to the north of the city [of An-yang] is the River Huan which flows eastward'. The passages agree in locating Yin-hsü south of the River Huan Hence Wu I's move was to this place

"If we except the errors in the *Chêng i* commentary that An-yang is to be identified with P'an Kêng's capital, and that the Yin-hsü of An-yang is to be identified with Pei-chung (Mr. Hsü [Wên-ching] [5] in his *Notes on the Bamboo Annals* 竹 書 紀 年 統 箋 has already corrected them), all the explanations agree that there was a Yin-hsü south of the Huan River. According to a statement in the *Topography of Chang-tê Fu*, south-west of An-yang Hsien is the city of Ho Tan Chia 河 亶 甲, and this Yin-hsü is identified with Ho Tan Chia Now, Ho Tan Chia lived in Hsiang 相 The place lay south-east of the present-day Nei-huang Hsien 內 黃 縣, and it was not the present-day An-yang. But the site from which the tortoise shells and animal bones are being excavated is precisely the mound at Hsiao-t'un, 5 *li* west of the present-day An-yang, to the south of the Huan

[1] A geography of the seventh century, now lost

[2] Cf. *CC*, iii, Proleg., 135.

[3] The current text of the *Annals* has Pei-mêng 北 蒙, and so had the ancient text as quoted in the tenth century, v inf., p 669.

[4] ix, 35 v°, seq.

[5] 徐 文 靖, of the eighteenth century.

River (which local folk call the An-yang River), in complete agreement with the foregoing data.

"So we know that Wu I's move was actually to this spot. In the topographies the identification of it with the city of Ho Tan Chia is erroneous. As for the statement in the *Bamboo Annals* that Wu I in the fifteenth year of his reign moved to Mei and the statement in the *Ti wang shih chi* that Ti I moved to Mei, the two are inconsistent. If we look for names of sovereigns appearing among the oracular sentences, we find that they go as far as Wu I, and then cease [1] From that we gather that the move to Mei must have occurred at the time of Ti I. The *Bamboo Annals* are in error and the account in the [*Ti wang*] *shih chi* expresses the truth"

To be thorough, this inquiry should involve a comparison of all references to Shang-Yin capitals in ancient texts, and an estimate of the authenticity of each. Limitation of space forbids such an attempt here,[2] and I merely add a note on information derived from chapter 83 of the *T'ai p'ing yu lan* 太平御覽, an encyclopedia of excerpts from many sources, which was compiled by Li Fang 李昉 and others towards the end of the tenth century. The data are set forth by Wang Kuo wei in a study [3] of alleged quotations from the *Bamboo Annals* to be found in various ancient books prior to the loss of the original text

From the second to the eighth sovereigns, each, except the fourth, is stated to have dwelt at Po The tenth is said to have moved from Po to Ao 囂, to be identified with the place-name which is written differently in the *Shih chi* (v. sup., p. 662), and is misprinted Yin 隱 in the text of the *T'ai p'ing yu lan*.

[1] This is incorrect The last name to appear is Wen Wu Ting, as Lo himself notes, and he identifies it with the twenty-eighth sovereign, son of Wu I v *KS*, i, 4 v

[2] v Tung Tso pin in a valuable article, *History of the Yin-hsu Site* 殷墟沿革 in *ASR*, ii, 224 240

[3] Entitled 古本竹書紀年輯校 in the third series of his collected works *Hai ning Wang chung ch'io Kung i shu* 海甯王忠慤公遺書 (1928) The study was begun by Chu Yu tseng 朱右曾 and completed by Wang Kuo wei

Probably it lay a short distance north-west of Jung-tsê. The eleventh sovereign remained at Ao, and his successor moved to Hsiang 相. The thirteenth sovereign lived at Pi 庇, the locality of which is doubtful. Nothing is recorded concerning the capital of his successor; but the next two sovereigns are said to have remained at Pi. The seventeenth sovereign is said to have moved from Pi to Yen 奄, which may have been in the region of the later State of that name, east of Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 in Shan-tung. His successor remained at Yen; and the nineteenth sovereign moved thence "to Pei-mêng 北蒙, which is called Yin 殷".[1] The remaining sovereigns, except the twenty-second and twenty-eighth, are specifically stated to have dwelt in Yin. A significant entry is made relating to the third year of the twenty-eighth sovereign's reign. It says "The Huan River thrice ceased to flow in one day." This suggests the proximity of the capital to the River.

A summary of the subject, together with a discussion of chronology, is given at the end of this article.

The Sovereigns

In the table below the generations are indicated with letters of the alphabet and the order of succession with serial numbers. The third column gives the names of sovereigns as generally accepted. Beside these, within square brackets, are equated names which are found among the An-yang inscriptions. Relationships established by the inscriptions are also printed within square brackets, the others are given in accordance with the third and thirteenth chapters of the *Shih chi* and the twentieth chapter[2] of the *Ch'ien Han shu*, and in the case

[1] K'ung Ying-ta's commentary on the P'an Kêng chapters in the *Book of History* is quoted to the effect that "Yin is 30 li to the south of Yeh". The same remark is quoted from Ssŭ-ma Chêng's 司馬貞 commentary on the Hsiang Yü chapter in the *Shih chi*. On the other hand, the latter's contemporary, Chang Shou-chieh, in his commentary on the *Yin Annals* in the *Shih chi*, gives the distance as 40 li, as quoted above on p. 667.

[2] Entitled *Ku chin jên piao* 古今人表.

THE FINDS

By far the most important are the inscribed fragments of tortoise shells and bones. Indeed, the chief aim of the recent Chinese expedition was to enlarge the fund of these remains of royal archives, as they may reasonably be termed. They reveal the conditions of civilization under the Shang-Yin dynasty, in respect of which there was formerly little authentic information, for the historical substance of written tradition is almost confined to the succession of sovereigns and the vague and contradictory accounts of changes of capital. As criteria for study of the script, the inscriptions are of prime value.

An antique dealer, named Fan Wei-ch'ing 范維卿, of Wei Hsien 濰縣 in Shan-tung, may have been the first to grasp the antiquarian value of the inscribed tortoise shells and bones. In 1899 he bought at Hsiao-t'un some which had come from the river bank to the north of the village, and he is said to have offered them to the famous collector Tuan Fang 端方.[1] The introduction of the inscriptions to the learned world is, however, generally ascribed to Wang I-jung 王懿榮, a Grand Secretary and Libationer of the Han-lin, who recognized the archaic legends on certain "dragon-bones", obtained the same year at a medicine shop in Peking. Prior to that, it is said, many fragments had been bought by druggists from the peasants of Hsiao-t'un, who had generally scraped off the inscriptions in order to render the bones more saleable. On the entry in 1900 of the foreign troops into the capital, when almost all the high officials had fled, the Grand Secretary committed suicide, together with his wife and

is the reading given by Lo Chên-yü for the character in the An-yang inscriptions, but Tung Tso-pin reads 光 (v. *PREA*, ii, 331–3; iii, 425), and so does Takata Tadasuke 高田忠周 in *Ku chou p'ien* 古籀篇, lxxxix, 21, 22. Hopkins now accepts this view.

[1] v. Tung Tso-pin, *A Chronological Table concerning the Oracle Tortoise Shells and Bones* 甲骨年表 in *ASB*, ii, 241–260.



CARVED ANTLER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM HEIGHT 11 INCHES

[To face p 672



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ANTLER ON PLATE VI



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ANTLER ON PLATE VI



POT, WITH GLAZED ZONE, RECONSTRUCTED BY DR LI CHI FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND AT AN-YANG

daughter-in-law. But for his untimely end, he would probably have been the earliest exponent. Wang I-jung's collection was sold by his son to Liu O 劉鶚 (styled T'ieh-yün 鐵雲) who with this as a nucleus got together some 5,000 fragments. In 1903 he published photolithographed reproductions of inked-squeezes taken from 1,000 chosen pieces. Two years ago another edition of this pioneer work appeared under the title *T'ieh-yün ts'ang kuei shih wên* 鐵雲藏龜釋文. It contains decipherments and notes added by Pao Ting 鮑鼎, and a supplement with preface by Lo Chên-yü. The first to explain the inscriptions was Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 in his *Ch'i wên chü li* 契文舉例, written in 1904. Since then the literature of this subject has grown rapidly. Some seventy items are named by Ch'ên Chun 陳準 in a recent issue of the journal *T'u shu kuan hsüeh chi k'an* 圖書館學季刊, vi, No. 1. The latest to appear is a catalogue by Shang Ch'êng-tsu 商承祚 of thirty-seven fragments in Dr. J. C. Ferguson's collection, entitled 福氏所藏甲骨文字, as a monograph published by Nanking University this year. Most prominent among the Chinese writers are Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Chên-yu. F. H. Chalfant with his *Early Chinese Writing* in 1906 was the first Western writer to treat the subject, and he has been followed by L. C. Hopkins with a long series of valuable articles contributed chiefly to this Journal. Copies of inscriptions on 2,369 fragments were published by J. M. Menzies in the book previously mentioned (p. 658). These and other fragments to the number of "nearly fifty thousand", while stored in the owner's house, were in 1928 destroyed by Chinese soldiers. Though the literature is large, the published examples are but a fraction of those known to exist. The total in various collections exceeds 100,000 fragments, and this must be far short of the number recovered from the site since 1898. Many uninscribed bones are among the finds, and the cutting of imitation archaic inscriptions on these and other old bones has been and still is a flourishing

industry in the neighbourhood of An-yang. Mention should be made here of a comparatively small group of carved and inscribed bone objects which do not figure in the Chinese works. The shapes are various: alligators, cowries, fishes in couples (generally combined with one or two angular sonorous stones), bells, swords, flat discs like the *pi* 璧, a *pi* combined with the tablet *kuei* 圭,[1] and a tortoise combined with a disc or a sonorous stone. Most of them were acquired by Chalfant from a Wei Hsien dealer about 1910, and a number afterwards passed into the Hopkins Collection. The provenance remained mysterious, beyond a vague report that they were all found together in one receptacle. The An-yang site was not specified, though that was assumed to have been the place of origin owing to resemblances of the script with that on authentic An-yang finds. After many years of study, Mr Hopkins tells me that he still and even more confidently adheres to his opinion that they are genuinely archaic, and he is now inclined to assign them to the early Chou period. The presence of miniature representations of the angular sonorous stone (*ch'ing* 磬) might be taken as support for this attribution, for the sonorous stones found at the An-yang site are of a different shape (v. inf., p. 679).

To attempt an account of the purport of the inscriptions would be beyond the scope of this article.[2] Suffice it to say that most are oracular sentences recording the questions addressed to, and sometimes the replies received from, dead ancestors. The subjects are varied: sacrificial rites, journeys, hunting, wars, harvests, weather forecasts, and genealogical

[1] Alligators and a *kuei pi* are pictured in two articles by Hopkins in *JRAS*, 1913. These are declared by Pelliot to be fakes, *T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923), 7. Other of these 'miniatures' appear in *JRAS*, 1911, pl. v a, following p. 1034, and in *Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of Chinese Art*, London (Burlington Fine Arts Club) 1915, pl. 33.

[2] The subject is treated by many Chinese and Japanese authors, and in English by Hopkins, of whose writings I have given a list in the *George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes, etc.*, i, 73, 74. See especially the articles in *JRAS*, 1915, 49–61, 289–303, and *New China Review*, i (1919), 111–119, 249–261.

tables. One gathers that the living unceasingly communicated with their ancestors in order to obtain guidance concerning matters of everyday life. The dynastic ancestors are termed "royal guests" 王賓, and this fact enables us to understand a passage in the *Book of History* which had puzzled commentators.[1]

The technique of the scorching process was briefly as follows.[2] Cavities were cut or drilled on one face of a tortoise plastron or of a flat bone so deeply as nearly to pierce the other face. If drilled, the cavity was round; but less than 20 per cent were so treated. The majority had cut cavities of lentoid shape and about half an inch in length. A small proportion, and they were the thicker bones, had two superimposed cavities, one cut in lentoid shape being below a round one. When the oracle was to be taken, a glowing stick or red-hot metal rod was placed for a brief space of time in a cavity, with the result that cracks appeared on the other surface. Corresponding to the lentoid cavity, there was generally one longer crack, and one or more lateral cracks branched from it. Black or red pigment was rubbed into the cracks in order to render them more visible. The answer to the query, or the oracular response, was read from the manner of the cracks. Up to this point, the procedure is alluded to in a number of classical texts, the meaning of which becomes clear now that we have the actual arcana to examine. But none of these writings mentions what to us is of chief interest—the stage when the diviners inscribed against a scorched area the query addressed to the spirits of the dead and, sometimes, their answer conveyed through the medium of the respective cracks. We know from observation that each plastron or bone was often used for as many divinatory

[1] v. *CC*, iii, 452.

[2] v. Chavannes, *La divination par l'écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise* in *Jour. Asiatique*, Jan.–Feb., 1911, 127–137, and Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖, *Evolution of Divination* 占卜的源流 in *ASB*, i (1928), 47–87.

pronouncements as there was room for cavities. But the fact should be mentioned that often the queries were not inscribed alongside the scorched area. Perhaps they were noted on other bones. The tortoise shells seem to have been scarce, because on some the first inscriptions appear to have been obliterated and the shells made to serve for another series of divinations. Tung Tso-pin believes that tortoise shells were primarily used, and bones were resorted to only when the supply of the former failed.[1] A written account states that the shells were buried after they could be no longer utilized, because they were regarded as sacred objects to be treated with reverence.[2] A point to remark is that the duty of interpreting messages conveyed by the cracks must have rendered the diviners a privileged and powerful class, and the question of spiritualistic mediumship is one to be considered. Variations in the cracks are limited; Lo Chên-yu recognizes fifteen.[3]

The recent expedition was fortunate in finding four almost complete plastrons, or ventral parts of the shell of the tortoise, and from the inscriptions on these Tung Tso-pin traces the customary sequence of procedure.[4] The dates suggest that a single plastron (which was the only part used for divination) may have been in use for eight months with varying intervals. There was also the practice of consulting the oracle regularly every ten days with regard to the following week. The days were reckoned in cycles of 60 and 10, and the latter is what I mean by 'week.' Dates were written with the day first, next the month, and last the reign year.[5] This is a criterion when estimating the period of a bronze inscribed with a date.

With the inscribed bones and tortoise shells may be classed the carved fragments of ivory. Numerous pieces have been found, and few among the chief public and private collections

[1] *PREA*, i, 208.
[2] v. Legge, *The Li Ki*, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxvii, 92.
[3] *KS*, iii, 65 r°.
[4] *PREA*, iii, 423–441.
[5] v. Tung Tso-pin in *PREA*, iii, 481–522.

of Chinese antiquities lack specimens. These bear the same decorative motives which are found on archaic bronzes, and naturally the question arises whether the ivory carvings may be assigned beyond doubt to the Shang-Yin period and so serve as criteria for an estimate of early Chinese art and the dating of bronzes in particular. The solution of this problem comes from a carved antler in the British Museum which seems to have been somewhat neglected by writers on the subject.[1] As may be observed from the accompanying plates VI, VII and VIII), the natural shape of the antler appears to have been utilized to represent the horned head of a dragon, the base being carved to simulate open jaws with fangs. Two bosses provide the eyes, and between them is a lozenge-shaped protuberance. The surface is carved in low relief with a number of motives : the cicada, *k'uei* 夔 dragon, serpent, and the "cloud and thunder pattern" filling the interstices. All these commonly appear on archaic bronzes, and, indeed, it would be an anachronism to describe the whole work as a "dragon's head", if so it were identified with the horned, four-legged dragon which seems to have been a later conception.[2] An alternative explanation depends on the origin and meaning of the so-called *t'ao-t'ieh* 饕 餮 mask—a large problem which cannot be discussed here. Present are elements of the *t'ao-t'ieh*, which, as hardly need be remarked, provided the main motive for the decoration of most archaic bronzes. Note the characteristic eyebrows which

[1] Little attention has been paid to it since it was described by L. C. Hopkins and R. L. Hobson in *Man*, xii (1912), 49–52, under the title *A Royal Relic of Ancient China*

[2] There are, however, criteria which might be taken as evidence that a dragon with horns existed in the animal art of the Shang-Yin period For instance, the head of a creature with open jaws, carved in ivory or bone, appears to have the same sort of short horns, with rounded tips, as the British Museum piece It belongs to the Crown Prince of Sweden, and it is represented by Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Art* (London, 1929), i, pl 12 Many bronzes have this type of creature which has one leg, and is named "*k'uei* dragon" in the early catalogues, but often it lacks horns.

are displaced inwards over the lozenge-shaped protuberance, owing to the position of the antler points. In short, while the so-called *k'uei* dragon seems a more plausible description, the traditional *t'ao-t'ieh* should not be excluded, though that would entail an explanation of the unusual presence of a lower jaw. A note should be made that this antler is evidently one of the kind which Lo Chên-yü mentions in his diary [1] as belonging to an extinct species and having been found in plenty at the An-yang site. They had a circular excrescence at their base, and the villagers called them "dragon horns".

Similar ornament appears on pieces of carved ivory and bone, but the antler is of prime importance because it also has what is evidently a contemporary inscription in the script of the Shang-Yin archives. It is incised upon the shaft, which has been cut square, and it comprises fifty-six characters constituting a genealogical tree, as described by Hopkins in *Man*. A duplicate of the list, exact except for the omission of the two first characters, is incised upon a shoulder-blade in the British Museum [2] The presence of such genealogical lists among the An-yang inscriptions is traceable to the need for a record of ancestors in their correct sequence so that sacrificial rites might be duly performed.

The finds include a large number of bones besides those used for divination purposes. Bones of the elephant,[3] tiger,

[1] *Wu shih jih mêng hên lu*, 21 r°. Probably Pere David's "tailed deer", *Cervus (elaphurus) davidianus*, which in recent years has survived solely in the Duke of Bedford's herd at Woburn Park, now numbering about 200 head. Allusions in classical literature to the mi 麋 prove that in ancient times it was plentiful in the marshes around the lower stretches of the Yellow River. v. Mollendorff, *The Vertebrata of the Province of Chihli* in *Jour. North China Br. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1877, 68–75.

[2] Reproduced in fig. 4 of an article by A. Bernhardi, *Frühgeschichtliche Orakelknochen aus China*, in *Baessler Archiv*, iv (1913–14), 14–18. The author stigmatizes it as counterfeit, which Hopkins denies in *JRAS*, 1913, 906. Another example is on a shoulder blade in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, which is reproduced in fig. 11 of Bernhardi's article.

[3] If not actually indigenous to that part of China in those times, the elephant seems to have been well known. v. Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒,

bear, deer, ox, sheep, goat, pig, and dog have been recognised. On one bone was found an inscription which has occasioned a long and elaborate inquiry by Tung Tso-pin into the problem of the unicorn or *lin* 麟.[1] Communication with the coast is proved by the presence of cowries, whale bones, and many salt water shells, including the large bivalves, previously mentioned.

Among the stone objects the sonorous stones 石磬 of triangular shape, like that of the ancient ploughshare, should be mentioned. Lo Chên-yü remarks that these differ from the angular kind used under the Chou.[2] Much interest has been aroused in the lower part of a human figure, about 8½ inches high, which was found by the recent expedition.[3] It is in a sitting posture with the thighs against the abdomen, the knees fully flexed and the two arms grasping the legs. The surface is covered with incised spiral patterns, and these have been explained as representing tattooed ornament. Cut into the back is a wide vertical groove, into which a pole may have fitted ; and perhaps the figure was made for some architectural purpose. Many stone implements of neolithic type were also found

Recovery of bronzes from An-yang began at least as early as the Sung period, as may be seen from entries in the earliest extant catalogue of bronzes.[4] The site was at that time wrongly identified with Ho Tan Chia, the twelfth Shang-Yin sovereign. None can tell how many pieces it has yielded to treasure seekers during the last nine centuries or longer.

Domestication of Elephants by the Yin and the Migration of Elephants to the South 殷人服象及象之南遷 in *ASB*, ii, pt. i, 60–75. According to the tradition cited by Mencius, certain Shang-Yin sovereigns had parks in which wild animals were kept. v *CC*, ii, 280–1

[1] *PREA*, ii, 287–335.

[2] *Wu shih jih mêng hên lu*, 21 Five examples are pictured in *Yin-hsü ku ch'i wu t'u lu* 殷虛古器物圖錄 (1916), 7–11.

[3] v. Li Chi's article and the photographs opposite p 250 in *PREA*, ii.

[4] *K'ao ku t'u* 考古圖, iv, 45, v, 12, by Lü Ta-lin 呂大臨, whose preface is dated A.D. 1092.

Recently, when attention has been centred on the place, the bronze finds have been numerous, and most of the large collections contain examples—fragments of ritual vessels, weapons, tools, etc. The decorative designs on them and on the ivory and bone carvings are similar. Some of these objects are evidently *ming ch'i* 明器 or things made specially for burial with the dead. An important fact is the presence of moulds, lumps of metal and charcoal which prove that casting was practised on the spot.[1]

A full description of the pottery has not yet been published, and perplexing problems of stratification render the dating a most difficult task. There seem to be three main categories. First there is a coarse grey ware modelled by hand and often decorated chiefly with mat or cord imprints. This includes supposed prototypes of various bronze classes.[2] Apparently evidence of direct continuity with the neolithic finds of Andersson is lacking, though a solitary painted sherd of the Yang-shao 仰韶 type was found.[3] Secondly, a black ware with simple incised designs is to be noted. Some specimens are thin and glossy. The third category has claimed most attention. It is a fine white ware carved with designs similar to those on the antler previously described and on archaic bronzes. Many fragments came into the hands of collectors before the recent expedition proved beyond doubt that the provenance was the An-yang site. Hamada Kōsaku 濱田

[1] Li Chi, *PREA*, ii, 240-9. Reference should also be made to an article contributed by this author to the *Volume of Essays in Honour of Mr Ts'ai Yüan p'ei on attaining the Age of Sixty-five* 蔡元培先生六十五歲慶祝論文集, Pei-p'ing, 1932, pp. 73-104. It is entitled *Five Kinds of Bronze Implements from Yin-hsü and Problems of their Analogues* 殷墟銅器五種及其相關之問題. Those treated are (1) Arrow heads 矢鏃, (2) Hooked weapons" 句兵, (3) Spears 矛, (4) Erasing knives 刀與削, (5) Celts 斧與錛.

[2] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, iii, 447-480 and a short article by Hopkins and Yetts in *JRAS*, 1933, 107-113.

[3] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, ii, 337-347.

耕作[1] advances the theory that this carved white pottery was a superior grade made for the rich and great on the analogy of Wide's theory to account for the two styles of Mycenaean pottery, and this seems to be a reasonable conjecture. Another theory, that it served as patterns for the casting of bronze vessels, might also be reasonable if there were evidence to support it. So far as I know, no bronze has yet been found to show the distinctive surface quality of this carved pottery. Had it functioned in the *cire perdue* process, the resultant casting would have been an exact replica, unless, of course, the wax model had been tooled after being moulded.

Following an announcement[2] that glazed Shang-Yin pottery was among the An-yang finds, I wrote to Dr. Li for further information. He most obligingly sent me some particulars together with a specimen. His letter contains this passage "You will observe that it is a kind of hard baked shard with a thin cover, that was evidently intentionally applied and often with very shiny appearance. At first it was thought it might be a kind of 'salt glaze', but recent analysis shows that this is very doubtful. In most cases this thin cover has been entirely worn out." In reply to another letter asking for details of evidence connecting the glazed ware with the Shang-Yin period, Dr. Li was kind enough to send the following information on 7th January, 1933 —

"Now come to the specific questions regarding the fragment of the pottery I sent to you for examination There are two features in the circumstances of discovery of such pottery fragments which prove beyond doubt that they must have been contemporaneous with the oracle bones Firstly it is only in the intact cultural stratum of the oracle bone deposit that such shards have been found, and in one case, one complete pot can be restored (of which I am sending you a picture) from fragments

[1] In *Kokka* 國華, No. 397 (1921), and *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 1 (1926), 46, 47.

[2] By H J. Timperley in *North-China Sunday News*, 26th July, 1931, and later by Li Chi in *Symposium on Chinese Culture* (1932), 224, 225.

found in such stratum The second feature is even more assuring. Lately we have discovered an extensive distribution of the 'stamped earth' (版築) which proves to be the house foundations of the Shang Dynasty. Under such foundations pits of circular and rectangular shape have been observed. In these pits, pot shards of this particular type have been found.

"As to whether the 'glaze' was applied intentionally the picture I sent to you will clearly show. In general the upper margin of this 'glaze' is always even and there are evident traces showing the use of brush. So if it is glaze at all, it must have been applied intentionally"

Sir Herbert Jackson and Mr. J. H Cooke have kindly tested the specimen fragment, and a summary of their results is as follows Portions were heated to 1000, 1100, 1200, and 1350 degrees Centigrade, without apparent change in hardness until the last temperature was reached. Sections of portions at the three lower temperatures showed a slight reddening. At 1350° the colour became light grey and the substance harder By naked eye and microscope the body is seen to be poorly mixed, there being marked reddish brown streaks in the buff body, and particles of quartz, varying much in size, are present The glaze is of a felspathic nature, standing a high temperature and not becoming absorbed into the body to any marked extent at 1200°. The ware approaches the proto-porcellanous type, and it emits a slight ring on percussion

One may add that the pot appears to have been turned on the wheel. The precision of the shaping and the presence of exactly parallel scores leave little room for doubt. The colour of the glaze is not apparent where it is thin, but where thick it has a yellowish green tinge. It was evidently confined to a zone on the shoulder of the pot, where two encircling ridges, roughly rectangular in section and half an inch apart, are applied as decoration. The flat edges of these ridges are scored obliquely, and one-eighth of an inch under the lower ridge is a zone of three parallel incised lines This restriction of the glaze to a decorated zone round the shoulder may be

observed again on the reconstructed pot, a photograph of which Dr. Li has been good enough to contribute (Plate IX).

There is no space to discuss the human remains, nor have full anthropological details yet been published. Three burials face-downwards are reported and also a red burial.[1]

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that a Shang-Yin capital stood on the site of the An-yang finds ; but its duration is uncertain. It must have lasted until the twenty-ninth sovereign's reign, if not longer , for the name of his predecessor appears in the oracular sentences. Moreover, the recent expedition found an inscription which is said to mention a Marquis of Chou 周 侯,[2] though this interpretation seems to me questionable. An allusion such as that must have been to one of the three immediate ancestors of the first Chou emperor.[3] The beginning of the capital is more debatable. Though the evidence outlined in this article is conflicting, it clearly indicates the reigns of the nineteenth and twenty-seventh sovereigns as likely alternatives. Wang Kuo-wei inclines to the former, and Lo Chên-yu's acceptance of the latter reign appears to have received the support of most writers on inadequate grounds.

The traditional dates assigned to these two reigns cannot be accepted.[4] According to the chronology of the *Bamboo Annals* the nineteenth sovereign ascended the throne in 1315 B.C., and the twenty-seventh in 1159. Calculations made by Han scholars give 1401 B C. and 1198 respectively. Let us start from the year 841 B.C. which the cautious historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien declares the earliest limit of exact chronology. Before that date, when the Regency period termed *kung-ho*

[1] v Li Chi, *PREA*. iii, 447 seq.

[2] v. Tung Tso-pin, *PREA*, i, 165, fig 277, and p. 191.

[3] The implication being that the inscription was probably written during the reign of the twenty-ninth sovereign, but certainly not earlier than that of the twenty-seventh.

[4] v. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 46.

共和 began, ten Chou emperors reigned. Allowing an average of fifteen years to each reign, we arrive at 991 B.C. for the establishment of the dynasty. (The *Bamboo Annals* give 1050 B.C.) Still assuming the same average duration of a reign, which is probably too high an estimate, we find that the nineteenth Shang-Yin sovereign ascended the throne in 1161 B.C. and the twenty-seventh in 1051 If these results be checked by generations, allowing twenty-five years to a generation (perhaps also too high), we find on reference to the table (pp. 670-1) that the nineteenth sovereign ascended the throne in 1166 B.C. and the twenty-seventh in 1066. While making such calculations, a point to be remembered is that the sequence of the Shang Yin sovereigns is almost the sole dependable tradition concerning the dynasty to be found in classical works. The first Chou emperor charged the Princes of Sung 宋 with the duty of maintaining sacrificial rites to their ancestors of the Shang-Yin dynasty, and the ruling House of Sung lasted until 286 B.C. It would have been but consistent with national custom if remnants of the family had continued to preserve intact the record of ancestral descent which was necessary for due observance of the rites The evidence of the An-yang inscriptions supports this assumption and also in the main the traditional record of generations, though it proves that in several instances the names became miswritten.

In short, we may accept as approximate either the latter half of the twelfth century B.C. or the latter half of the eleventh as the time when the Shang-Yin capital was moved to the site near An-yang, and probably the site was abandoned about the end of the eleventh century. The vast accumulation of oracle archives can hardly be explained except by the surmise that some were carried thither when the new capital was established.

A crucial point is, of course, the extent to which the An-yang finds allow us to estimate early civilization in China. The time has long since passed when the state of knowledge led to discussions on Chinese culture prior to the Han as a homo-

geneous unit[1]; but the criteria are not yet enough to give us a general view of this complex problem. One may feel confident, however, in the surmise that the An-yang remains manifest a comparatively local product, and that they postulate a long development, to which the stage of script evolution and the technical excellence of the bronze casting chiefly testify. Also a safe conclusion is that the Chou accepted and carried on the tradition. Of special moment to ceramic enthusiasts is the reported use of glaze about a thousand years earlier than formerly recognized. This is but one of the many details awaiting fuller investigation in future accounts of discoveries made by the first Chinese scientific excavation. We hope that many more such expeditions will follow, and that Dr. Li Chi and others will continue their illuminating reports.

[1] v. Li Chi in *PREA*, II, 337–347, Fu Ssŭ-nien 傅斯年 in *PREA*, II, 349–386, and Hsü Chung-shu in *PREA*, III, 523–557.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON CERTAIN WORDS IN THE CHAHĀR MAQĀLA

In spite of Browne's excellent translation there are a few words in the Chahār Maqāla which are still obscure. Two or three such words, and a connected matter, I propose to consider here.

I

On p. 5 of the text (Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xii) Niẓāmī mentions the following " products of the inorganic world " .—

کوهها و کانها و ابر و برف و باران و رعد و برق و
کواکب منقضّه و ذو الذوابه و نیازک و عِصِیّ و هاله و
حریق و صاعقه و زلزله و عیون گوناگون چنانکه
در آثار علوی این را شرحی بمقام خود داده شده است

In Browne's first translation he left a gap for عِصِیّ, and put a note at the foot of the page stating that he could not find out what the word meant; in his later rendering he did away with the gap and note and translated " meteors, thunderbolts ". I have recently stumbled across a passage in another work which shows that نیازک و عِصِیّ are optical phenomena caused by the slanting rays of the setting (or rising) sun acting on a moisture laden atmosphere and producing the effect of lines in the sky. And حریق, which Browne translates " conflagrations ", really means " spontaneous combustion ".

The Chahār Maqāla was written about A.H. 550. Half a century earlier Sahmu'd-dīn bin Abī'l-Khayr wrote the Nuzhatnāma-i-'Alā'ī, a quaint compendium of mediaeval scientific beliefs. On folio 131*a* of the Bodleian MS.

(Ouseley 362) the author discusses, or quotes a discussion of, certain phenomena, the list of which somewhat resembles Niẓámí's enumeration. They are —

باران برف ژاله شبنم رعد و برق بادها حریق
کواکب منقضّه شموس و ذات الذوایب نیازك و عصی
قوس و قزح هاله صاعقه زلازل چشمه‌ها
جوی‌ها و رودها کوه‌ها

And he explains نیازك و عصی as follows —

هر گاه که برهوا بخاری باشد متوسط اندرو برودت و حرارت و روی آن بخار صیقل بود و خورشید بر آفاق بود و وضع آن بخار بران جملت بود که چون بصر بدو پیوندد و بر زاویهٔ متساوی ازو منعکس شود و بجرم خورشید پیوندد حس بصر آنرا سخت ادراك کند از بهر آنکه آن بخار مظلم بود و جرم خورشید سخت روشن وچون مروح گرداند بصر را سرخی از مرکّب مدرك شود و شکل این بخارات که بصر ازو منعکس شود و بخورشید پیوندد یا برصورت تیرها خرد بود یا بر صورت عصاها و ازین سبب این نیازك و عصی خوانند و برهان هندسی مقرّر گشتست اندر

اختلاف المناظر که نشاید که صورت آن جرم مدوّر بود
یا مثلث یا شکل دیگر الّا اشکال نیازک و عصی

II

Now Sahmu'd-dīn in his description of these phenomena is not making original observations, but is quoting an earlier work by a certain Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar bin Ismā'īl Isfizārī. The Nuzhatnāma is divided into *maqālas* or discourses, and the tenth *maqāla* (on folio 128*a*) begins thus :—

مقالهٔ دهم اندر آثار علوی

کتابی یافتم که خواجه حکیم ابو حاتم مظفر بن
اسمعیل اسفزاری . . . کرده بود اندر آثار علوی بغایت
نیکوئی و اختصار و لفظ مبیّن همچنان نسخت کردم
وتالیف خویش بدان آراسته گردانیدم و زیادت و نقصانی
نرفت الّا خطبه که نبشته نیامد آغاز کتاب حکیمان
چنین گفتند موجودات عالم که ایزد تعالی آفرید از دو گونه
است الخ

TENTH DISCOURSE ON THE INFLUENCES ABOVE.

I found a work written most excellently, concisely, and clearly, by Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar bin Ismā'īl Isfizārī . . . on *The Influences Above.* I copied it, and adorned my own work with it, without adding to it, or taking from it, except for not writing the address. Beginning of the book :— Philosophers have said that

worldly existences, which God Almighty has created, are of two kinds . . .

The copyist has written the word after Isfizārī without diacritical points, and I cannot read it, perhaps the copyist could not read it himself. I do not seem to know anything about the Khwāja, or his work. But from this passage, and from a comparison of the lists of phenomena given in it and in the Chahār Maqāla, it appears clear that Niẓāmī had the Nuzhatnāma, or the original work of Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim, before him And it is to this that he refers in the words چنانکه در آثار علوی این را شرحی بمقام خود داده شده است, "as has been noted in its proper place in the Āthār-i-'Ulviy (The Influences Above)"

146

C. N. SEDDON.

ON VARDHAMĀNA AGAIN

I have already written too much on this word and must plead in excuse for reverting to it that the possibly decisive reference eluded me till after the appearance of the JOURNAL for April, 1932. *Divyāvadāna*, p 639, describes the asterism Puṣya as *tritāram vardhamānasamsthānam*. This asterism consists of the three stars, γ, δ and θ of Cancer, which form an obtuse-angled triangle with the obtuse angle uppermost From this I infer that the chief characteristic of the shape of the *vardhamāna* was its possession of three points with the middle one highest. These points are to be seen in the figure I would identify with the shape and in the Jain jars of this name, while Burnouf's conjectural identification is excluded by this piece of evidence. In some forms of this shape the points are very marked e g in the Burmese coins reproduced in Phayre's *Coins of Arakan, Pegu and Burma*, plates u and v, where they are described as *triśūlas*, but are associated with Buddhist emblems

159

E. H. JOHNSTON.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Vol. V. Semitic. By S. H. LANGDON. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx + 454, ills. 102. Boston: Archæological Institute of America, Marshall Jones Co. (London. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press), 1931. 52*s*. 6*d*.

It is a matter for remark that a work on Semitic Mythology as a whole has never been written before. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* dealt with religion rather than with myth, and abstracted from Assyriology, which is the special subject of our present author; and the scope of Lagrange's *Études sur les religions sémitiques* is indicated by the title. Professor Langdon will have the gratitude of all readers who appreciate the difficulty of his undertaking.

Chapter I, "Geographical and Linguistic Distribution of Semitic Races and Deities," is concerned with the Semitic gods in general, and the remainder of the work is mainly Assyriological. The long first chapter makes comparatively difficult reading, but a directive idea that gives it unity is that there are two principal sources of Semitic mythology. the Semitic religion of Arabia and the sumerianized Semitic of Babylonia that influenced the whole North Semitic territory—Aramæan, Canaanite, and even North Arabian. In the quest for Babylonian clues to North Semitic problems Professor Langdon does not fail to be instructive and stimulating. There are several new suggestions about Biblical matters · e.g. manna, and the Book of Yašer. Chapter ii, "The Sumero-Akkadian Pantheon," gives an interesting account of the difficult subject. Chapters iii to xi are devoted to the various Sumerian and Akkadian myths. Translations of noteworthy passages (many of which are to many readers hardly accessible elsewhere) alternate with summary and explanation. These chapters read pleasantly. First place is

given to the Legend of Etana (chapter iii), the text of which Professor Langdon has recently re-edited with the help of new material and joins. In the chapter on the Gilgames epic Assyriologists will find a new arrangement of fragments. The last chapter deals mainly with the demons of Babylonia; also with their survival in certain folk-lores. It is a very interesting and original work on a subject that will attract most orientalists occupied with Western Asia. More's the pity that the price is so high.

As it would be impossible to attempt here an examination of everything in a work of this scope, I abstain from studying the many extensive translations from the mythological poems—the more willingly because Professor Langdon has an acquaintance with texts of this kind that can hardly be surpassed.

The first chapter is the one that provokes most discussion. The author would probably admit and give good reason for a certain "pan-Babylonian" tendency. Sometimes it goes rather far. A difficult problem is created by the tacit assumption that West Sem. *MLK* ought to be explained by *Malik* (title of Nergal in a god-list), which does not mean King. For *MKL* (of Palestine and Cyprus) is proposed the East Sem. vocalization *mukkil*, devourer. It is argued that West Sem. theophorous names composed with *ah*, brother, may be due to the influence of the Babylonian worship of Tamuz as the brother (sc. of Ištar) (p. 7), or that of Enlil as brother of the earth-goddess (p. 12). In this connection M. Noth's studies of the *forms* of the Semitic names containing 'brother' deserve notice. Most are nominal sentences, a form which was inherited from undivided North Semitic; in West Semitic they have also the form noun + perfect, which suggests that names of this kind were still being created by West Semites after the separation of West from East Semitic; on the other hand, brother-names of characteristically East Semitic form (like *Ahi-ālik-pāni*) are very rare (*ZDMG*, 1927, and *Die israel. Personennamen*,

66–75). Thus the specifically Eastern Semitic religion would have nothing to do with the origin of the names in question.

As name of the God of Israel Langdon uses Yâw. The implication is that the first ה of יהוה was (apparently to the end of the period covered by this book) merely *mater lectionis*: but note Delaporte, *Épig. aram.*, No. 47, יהונתן transcribed *Ia-a-ḫu-u-na-tan-nu*, and the presumption is that some earlier instances of יהו represent a similar pronunciation. It is suggested that the quadrilitteral יהוה was invented to carry the vowels of Adonai; a name Yahweh "never existed" (p. 43). but the existence of *Iaβε* among the Samaritans according to Theodoret (Migne, *Pat. Graec.*, 80, 244) deserves attention, to say nothing of the implications of Exodus (E), etc. Probably the expression of the argument could be so modified at these points as to leave valid the main thesis of an original Yāw. Personally I think that the extant evidence favours the originality of radical *h*. However, it is now reported that "Yaw" is found at Rās Šamra.

Of the divine name El, an extremely original theory is the following (65 ff.). El, probably old Semitic designation of the Sky-god, became for the West Semites a proper name of the Sun-god. The ilāni (*plur. maj*) of the Habiru was the Sun-god so also El and Elohim of the Hebrews, who are equated to the Habiru. "In the late period" (42, cf. 66) the solar El/Elohim coalesced with Yāw, the Storm-god. The former was originally god of the Northern, the latter god of the Southern Israelites (5) This would be very important. But, firstly, the proof that El as a proper name regularly denoted the Sun-god seems to be meagre—principally the divine name *RKB'L* in the inscriptions of Zenjirli and the solar iconography of El of Byblos; and even this foundation seems shaky. That *RKB'L* denotes the Charioteer (or Chariot) of the Sun is probable, but that אל is here the proper name of the Sun-god is not a strictly necessary deduction, and not a satisfactory one in view of the regular distinction between El and

Šamaš in the Hadad inscription. From this point of view it would be easier to see in El a survival of the old Semitic El plausibly supposed by Langdon to have been the heaven-god. As to Phœnician, El does not seem to me solar in the Râs Šamra mythology, but rather a Zeus or Kronos (these documents Professor Langdon was not yet able to use). Anyhow, the theory that for the Hebrews El or Elohim was a Sun-god distinct from Yāw is highly speculative until indications of this distinction can be shown in the Hebrew documents. On p. 70 five allusions to the divine wings (solar figure) are cited from the Old Testament · as Professor Langdon is careful to point out, two refer to Yāw, three to Elohim · and it may be added that two of these three come from Book II of the Psalms, which has been editorially elohized.

Smaller matters in chapter i. P 18, l. 27 fifth, read twenty-fifth. Note 79 to p. 19, and index s.v. Orotalt : this name of the principal Nabatæan god in Herodotus explained as Walad alat. Is allāt intended ? If so the explanation is a little more difficult I might refer to a suggestion in *Journ. Soc. Orient. Res.*, 1927, 77, that final *τ* is dittographed from *τηv* following, and OPOTAΛ < OBOTAΔ is Obodat, עבדת, which actually occurs (Obodas in an inscription and in Tertullian) as name of a principal Nabatæan god. P 34 · it is probably incorrect to say that the teraphim were put *in* David's bed (probably עַל would be used, not אֶל) rather the figures were put at the bedside to give the illusion of a rite for the sick (Barnes, *Journ Theol Stud.*, xxx, 178). Also the other details—the "net of the goat" at the place of the head—probably have a ritual character, which should be connected with Babylonian rites of healing (cf. e g this book, p. 356). P. 41 : חלבבה (in the inscription of Panammu) = *Aleppo*, is new to me, and being *prima facie* very difficult seems to need a note. P 44 the name Aḫi-ia-mi at Ta'annek *proves* the existence of a Canaanite Yāw · note recent arguments to the contrary—Driver, *ZAW*, N F. 5, 7[1], Noth, op. cit., 109, Gustav, *Die Personennamen* . . von *Tell Ta'annek*,

41 (all in 1928). P. 51, "holy rocks": on the sense of *αμβροσιε πετραι* cf. Cook, *Schweich Lectures*, 1925, 161. Note 349 to p. 72: *ilāni*, cited from Harper's *Letters*, 301, 7 as example of plural of majesty, refers to Aššur and Marduk. P. 76: cult of Tamuz at Bethlehem in St. Jerome's day: rather two or three centuries before his day (probably extinct in the time of Origen).

In the other chapters it may be useful to refer to the following points. P. 107: supply reference to the last citation—*KAR*, 59, obv. 29 f, rev. 4 f. Note 57 to p. 108: Harper, 1194, 13 (not 3). P. 120, l. 12: misprint for *-nuntaë*. Note 150 to p. 140: *Oannes*. P. 152: probably ŠEŠ-KI is not the *original* ideogram of Nanna; rather ŠEŠ-NA (cf. suggestion of Deimel, *Lex.* s.v., based on Fara, now confirmed by texts from Ur). P. 160, l: "top stage" of the ziggurrat of Ur; rather, temple on the top. P. 189: "sons of God," not actually in passage cited, is emendation of "stones of fire". P. 193, top: I am perplexed by the reading *Dilmun*: the sign looks like *gir*. P. 204, l. 19. western; or eastern[1]? P. 205: *Ardates* in one place of Polyhistor can hardly be used as a genuine witness to his name for the penultimate antediluvian king (and so equated to "Arad-gin"), for the Armenian of this excerpt from Polyhistor has Otiartes [< Opartes], and Polyhistor has Otiartes in another place according to all witnesses, and St. Cyril Alex. refers to Otiartes as penultimate king on the authority of Polyhistor. Note 14 to p. 210, Thompson [e] 43. read [d] 53. Note 13 to p. 340: Nerib near Aleppo (not Ḫarran). P. 344, Ḫabur [Šubaru] identified with Eridu: note that in de Genouillac, *Tab. de Dréhem*, AO. 5482, the places are distinguished (same mistake by me in *Orient.* vii, 51; rectified *Orient.*, N.S., i, 235[1], with a suggestion on the relation between

[1] The abode of the Deluge hero, in the Babylonian tradition, as in the Sumerian, may well be Tilmun, and therefore on the *eastern* sea: cf. its description in Gilg. Epic, x, with the passage about Tilmun in 2 R 60, 6-9c (see Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 10).

the two places). P. 345, l. 18, Faithful Lord of the Tree: or Lord of the Faithful Tree? Note 16 to p. 357: CT. 16, 12 (not 121).

At the beginning of the valuable chapter on Etana, dILLAD (ildu?), name in a king-list of Etana's son Baliḫ, is explained as *ildu* "he who was born", with reference to the birth that was the object of Etana's adventure (thus pseudo-ideogram: see now Langdon, *Legend of Etana*, 35[4]). But in Shalmaneser Mon. 2, 79 (3 R. 8, 79) *nār ILLAD-A* represents *nār Ba-li-ḫi* of Shalmaneser Ob. 54 [KB. i, 132] (Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, 151 [where there is a slip in transcription]), and it is not so likely that ILLAD here is a pseudo-ideogram in the sense proposed. Perhaps more probably dILLAD, which elsewhere is designation of a god of a fairly definite character, is a name characterizing Baliḫ as a deified hero with a legend of his own: possibly as god of the *hunting-pack* (a probable meaning of ILLAD), a shepherd-hunter in the mountains, and hero of a legend in the valley of the Baliḫ cf. the allusions to the mountain way which characterize the scene of the legend of Etana, and the dogs regularly associated with Etana on seals

Suggested connections between Semitic Mythology and Christianity are the following The veiling of the Cross in Passiontide is derived from the Babylonian New Year Ritual (p. 160). But some research has been made on the history of the Christian rite—apparently a *medieval* and *western* development (from the curtain separating the people, as penitents during Lent, from the altar). P. 341. the title "Our Lady" perhaps of Babylonian origin. But it seems to have come into use *about the twelfth century*, being popularized by St. Bernard, and due ultimately to the chivalric style of the troubadours. Much research would be necessary to trace the links with Babylon

Babylonian mythology is much entangled with astronomy, and questions of uranography, which ramify into problems of extra-Babylonian cultures, are worth all the attention

that can be given them. In identification of the Babylonian constellations the author regularly follows Kugler, disregarding some rectifications that are widely accepted to-day: the *Swallow* is still Aquarius W. (instead of Pisces W.), and ^{k}APIN still Triangulum (instead of Cassiopeia). The implicit rejection of the identifications that appear to be most commonly accepted (e.g. in Weidner's well-known star-map, adopted both by Meissner, 1925, and Jeremias, 1929) may be disconcerting to non-astronomers (like myself), and one regrets that the learned author has not mentioned whatever reasons there may be. Again, note 48, p. 406—"the meaning 'rainbow' assigned to antiranna and marratu by many scholars is false"—would be valuable if reasons were given; it would correct Kugler and (so far as I know) *all* the more recent authors, and presumably would add something important to the generally known indications. ^{k}DIL-GAN, ikū, is rendered *Canal Star* instead of *Field* or the like, which was the usual interpretation at the time of writing (*RA*, 1932, p. 24, which has now to be reckoned with, has further weakened the case for "Canal"). ^{k}*Gula*, the figure corresponding to that of our Aquarius, is taken to represent Anu, the sky-god. Something has gone wrong with the argument. The constellation is said (p. 96) to belong to the "Way of Anu". But this is not so. it is reckoned among the constellations of Ea: in fact this is one of the constellations of the Ea-group more particularly assigned to Ea (CT. 33, 3, 20) The note, explaining or correcting, observes that the Swallow, identified with Western Aquarius, belongs to the Way of Anu. But surely the attribution to Anu of a part of *our* Aquarius which the Babylonians distinguished from *their* figure of the water-pourer, will not prove the equation of *their* water-pourer to Anu. Perhaps *Gula* (the Great One) signifies (as Weidner has suggested) a *giant*-like water-pourer? Against the identification of ^{k}*gu-la* with ^{d}gu-la, the great god Anu, is the lack of divine determinative. I cannot think that the

water-pouring "angel" on a monument from Ur can be the supreme god Anu. And is not the divinity beardless and probably feminine (cf Legrain, *Museum Journal*, 1927, 77)?

P. 94 f., the three heavens are said to be "adorned" with jasper, *saggilmud* stone and *luludata* stone respectively. Note that the document simply *equates* the three heavens to these three stones. The question may be raised whether the more literal interpretation would not be correct. It is a little problem which has interest for the history of cosmology. Are *stone* vaults intended? It concerns also our understanding of the myth of Etana. the eagle could hardly fall through the three heavens if they were made of stone, but possibly we are to imagine rather a descent through the "gates", which are mentioned in the ascent (if a swerving bird-like descent, this might have a bearing on the question of Etana's survival)

Curious that for the later doctrine of seven heavens Professor Langdon cites nothing earlier than *Enoch*, for a Nippur text the publication of which we owe to Professor Langdon himself (*Bab. Exp* 31, No. 60, ii, 19) already mentions seven heavens

P. 94 (l 20) ecliptic. equator? Ibid., "Yoke of the Wagon Star" the name thus quoted does not, I think, actually occur for Draco Ibid, prayers to the polar stars [Draco and Great Bear] "as they rose by night". can they be said to have *risen*, even in the latitude of Uruk? Probably in the text alluded to *ulapha* means "shall have shone forth" likewise *ultašû* "have come forth".

P. 109, the omega-like thing represented on the Kudurrus is identified after Zimmern with the *markasu rabû* (great bond) of the "holy house" mentioned on the Nazimaruttaš kudurru in the Louvre The identification is not quite certain (it is disregarded by so good an authority on the question as M. Contenau, *Manuel* (1931), 903) but there is a good case for Professor Langdon's option. I doubt, however, the further explanation of the object as (if I understand) a symbol of

the cosmic *principle* which unites all things . . . for the sanction-figures on Kudurrus either are concrete emblems of particular gods or are constellations. Since the object naturally suggests a *yoke*, and was listed as such by Hinke, it may reasonably be taken for a stylized representation of the constellation (Draco) which was actually called the Yoke, and which must in fact have been seen as a somewhat omega-shaped yoke. The identification suits well the place of honour commonly occupied by the emblem : after the emblems of the three gods of the three divisions of the universe or of heaven might well be added that of the polar constellation. It supports also our author's identification with the *markasu rabû ša e-si-kil-la*, great bond of the pure house · all these terms are apt for the polar constellation: note its Sumerian name, musir (yoke)-kešda (bound), and the epithet *rabû* regularly applied to its divinity (or to the constellation itself ? cf. 5 R. 46, 12) ; and with the " pure house " as applied to the polar region of heaven may be compared " first son of the sublime house " as name of a pole star in CT. 33, 1, 21. Above all, the surprising fact that the omega or yoke is often upside-down on the Kudurrus is explained if the circumpolar " yoke " was the thing thought of.

P. 160, " star of the tablet " (α Tauri) related to the New Year feast according to Kugler, Ergänz. (1914), pp. 6, 218 : but note that Erganz. (1924), 552, withdraws the suggestion.

In noticing errata and suggesting possible improvements I have ventured to unusual length because of the unusual importance of a work which treats with authority of a subject so widely interesting.

479 E. BURROWS.

Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar

No. 18. PRIVATE LIFE OF SHAHU AND THE PESHWAS. pp. vi + 106. 1931. 2s. 3d.
No. 19. PESHWA MADHAVRAO AT CROSS PURPOSES WITH HIS UNCLE RAGHUNATHRAO, 1761–1772. pp. vi + 121, map 1. 1931. 2s. 6d.
No. 20. THE BHONSLES OF NAGPUR, 1717–1774. pp. xii + 297, map 1. 1931. 5s. 9d.
No. 21. BALAJIRAO PESHWA AND EVENTS IN THE NORTH, 1741–1761. pp. iv + 222, pls. 4. 1932. 6s.
9½ × 6 Bombay Government Central Press.

Volumes of this excellent series continue to issue, under the editorship of Mr. G. S. Sardesai, with commendable punctuality. The fact that the papers are published as they are examined accounts for a lack of collation and historical arrangement. The papers contained in No. 21, for example, relating to the activities of the Marathas in the North of India, cover the same subjects and much the same period as those that were contained in No 2. This small drawback, however, is compensated for by the variety of the contents, from the domestic affairs of the second Peshwa, including the provision of dancing girls of the best type, and the shikar arrangements of that good sportsman, King Shahu, to the grim accounts of the fighting with the Abdali Ahmad Shah, at Panipat The account of the Bhosles of Nagpur is of special value, as this Maratha family has never had full justice done to it. Of the same clan as the great Shivaji, they were largely instrumental in the restoration of his grandson Shahu to the Maratha throne, and they were his natural successors when he was about to die childless. Mr. Sardesai considers that Raghuji Bhosle realized that the Peshwa was alone capable of handling the critical position, and therefore acquiesced in the succession of the probably spurious Ram Raja in place of the adoption of one of his own sons It is more generally believed that Raghuji was out-witted and out-manœuvred

by the cunning Brahman. Raghuji afterwards conquered Bengal and levied the *Chauth* there. The demands of his sons upon the English for the continuance of this payment after 1765 were firmly resisted, but it is interesting to conjecture what would have happened if the Peshwa had supported Javoji Bhosle and his brothers instead of attacking them. As in the case of Holkar and Sindhia, the Peshwa preferred to humble the Maratha generals and to play them off against each other, rather than to unite them for the aggrandisement of the Maratha Empire. The Bhosles at least deserve credit for the establishment of orderly government in the country round Nagpur, almost the only part of India where the Marathas improved the administration.

A recent English writer has accused British historians of an anti-Maratha bias. No one, however, can read these letters without realizing how generally the Marathas were detested by Rajputs and Mahomedans alike, and how this was due to their predatory habits. As a result, many of the Chiefs of Northern India assisted the Afghans against them, with the consequence of terrible pillage and massacre. On the other hand, the reader must recognize the courage and national feeling of the Marathas which constantly re-united them to face great odds. If they failed at Panipat, it was largely because the claims on their fighting strength were too great, and they were obliged to employ mercenary troops and to depart from their traditional methods of warfare.

551, 552, 553, 611 P. R. CADELL.

ASSUMPCAM'S BENGALI GRAMMAR. Facsimile Reprint of the Original Portuguese with Bengali Translation and Selections from his Bengali-Portuguese Vocabulary. Edited and translated, with Introduction, by S. H. CHATTERJI and P. SEN. 8½ × 6¾, pp. 260. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1931.

Apart from the prose passages in the Śūnyapurāṇa and some other passages in various Vaiṣṇava works, the earliest

extant specimens of Bengali prose are, curiously enough, not Hindu but Christian productions. About the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese missionaries in Bengal began to produce Bengali works written in a Romanized script. Three specimens of this literature have been preserved.

(1) *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed* (*Kṛpār Śāstrer Arthabhed*) a translation from the Portuguese by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, a missionary stationed at Bhawāl in East Bengal. This work gives instruction in the Christian faith as taught by the Roman Catholic Church. One copy of it is preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and there is a second copy in Portugal at Evora.

(2) A dialogue on the Christian religion written probably about the end of the seventeenth century by a Bengali convert to Christianity, who had taken the name of Antonio de Rozario A copy of this work is preserved at Evora.

(3) A Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary with a short compendium of Bengali grammar by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, which was printed at Lisbon in 1743 There are two copies of this work in the British Museum

Professors Chatterji and Sen have given us the original text of the first part of this last-named work (xi + 40 pages) up to the end of the grammar, with a Bengali translation on the opposite page There is also a selection (97 pages) of a considerable number of the more interesting words from the vocabulary itself, with a Bengali transliteration of the Romanized Bengali words and a Bengali translation of the Portuguese words. The introduction by Professor Chatterji discusses, amongst other subjects, the literary work of the Portuguese missionaries, their system of writing Bengali in Roman characters, and some of the most interesting variations between the grammatical forms referred to in the grammar and the forms at present in use Appended to the introduction is a series of extracts from *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed*. There are also three photographic plates, showing the title-page and

two pages from the Grammar and two pages from the Vocabulary.

Students of the history of the Bengali language will be very grateful to Professors Chatterji and Sen for the labour they have spent upon this work, and will be hoping that its appearance will suggest to them or to some other competent scholar the desirability of reproducing at an early date the whole text of *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed*, and of Antonio de Rozario's *Dialogue*, so that it may be possible to discover, even more exactly than this book enables us to do, the form of Bengali that was in use in East Bengal two hundred years or more ago.

557 W. SUTTON PAGE.

THE ORGAN OF THE ANCIENTS FROM EASTERN SOURCES (HEBREW, SYRIAC, AND ARABIC). By HENRY GEORGE FARMER. Preface by Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin. 9 × 5¾, pp. xxxi + 105, pls. 3, ills. 16. London: William Reeves, 1931. 15*s*. 6*d*.

In this work the author tries to trace the origin of the organ from its earliest mention through Oriental sources. For the Hebrew and Syriac literature the references are few, and in addition the identification very doubtful as no definite details are given to give a clue as to the construction of the instruments referred to. With Arabic literature we get on somewhat firmer ground and Farmer translates into English the treatise on the hydraulic organ attributed to a certain Greek author whose name figures in all preserved manuscripts in the form Mūristūs. I have not been able to get any further than the scholars whom the author has consulted in identifying this mysterious mechanic, to whom also is attributed a treatise upon the construction of bells. It is strange that though the work has come down to us in several manuscripts, we find to my knowledge not the slightest indication in historical literature of the Arabs that such an instrument was ever in

use. As Islām does not know what we may call Church music, and music in general was abhorred by the pious as detracting from devotion, such instruments could only have been used in the palaces and homes of the rich for the entertainment of friends. I even wonder if such an instrument was ever constructed. Perhaps, as far as the Arabs were concerned, scientists contented themselves with copying the book and theoretically working out the possibility of its manipulation. Maybe that the mechanical toys of the Banū Mūsā too were only theoretical and not practical. Anyhow, it is strange that not one of such instruments has survived. Maybe that the pious, whose diversion was the smashing of musical instruments, have been successful in getting every one out of the way.

The contents of this work are of such technical intricacy and so admirably solved by the author that it would be presumption to offer any criticism. It is only by the expert knowledge of the author that a correct translation of the text has been possible. Of historical importance is that he has proved conclusively that Charlemagne never received an organ from the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd I fear, however, that the tale will continue to be repeated for several hundred years, like that of the destruction of the Alexandrian library and the libraries of Baghdad by the Mongols

I wish I could add to my words of appreciation, but Dr Spies has pointed out to me that there is yet another manuscript of the treatise of Mūristūs in the library of the Ayā Sofia (the two manuscripts, Nos. 2407 and 2755, contain the three treatises on the hydraulic organ, the pneumatic organ, and on the bells). The figures on the ancient castle of Ghumdān in Ṣan'ā', which the author mentions, were of another nature. They were figures of lion-heads with open mouths and had some arrangement inside by which they uttered a loud sound when the wind blew into the mouths. These figures have disappeared long since (v *Iklīl* ed. Anastase).

F. KRENKOW.

A HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By HENRY GEORGE FARMER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 264, pls. 3. London: Luzac and Co., 1929. 15s.

In the *Ḥilyat al-Auliyā'* (MS. Faiziyeh 1437) a tradition is recorded that 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar went a walk along the high road with Nāfi', when unawares they came upon a shepherd who was playing a reed-flute. 'Abdallāh immediately put his fingers in both ears and went far off the road with Nāfi', asking him to let him know as soon as the dreadful sound could not be heard any longer. He said: "Thus I have seen the Prophet, whom God bless, do on a similar occasion." It does seem strange that a history of the music of a people is possible at all, when, according to religious teaching music is a hateful diversion. Yet the pages of Farmer's work reveal that not only music was tolerated, but even flourished and exercised a great influence upon other nations. It is very fortunate that in the author we have not only an Arabic scholar, but also a competent musician, both in theory and practice, and to review his work by anyone who does not possess both qualities is rather hazardous. I believe that the author has not left any available source untouched to make his record as complete as possible, but this has lead him in many cases to be only too brief. I am with the author in his assertion that the music of the Arabs is indigenous and not due, and as often stated entirely, to Persian influence. If an-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥāriṯh brought the Persian mode of music from al-Ḥīra to Mecca it was only to supplement the art in some way, as it existed in Mecca from times unknown. The importance of the Persians is so often and has so long been overrated that it is continually asserted without being proved. So much seems to be certain that the earlier singers almost without exception came from Arabian soil. With the advent of the 'Abbāsī caliphs undoubtedly, together with the ancient Persian vices and dishonesty in State administration, also Persian music was afforded greater scope. But as we do not

know anything concerning the melodies nor the difference between the two classes of music, we are also at a loss to separate one from the other To assert from the names of the artists that they sang or played according to one style or the other, if they differed at all, is to set up theories for which there is no foundation. The author has not attempted such a thing, and perhaps from his theoretical knowledge of the art he is almost alone in this case to form a sound judgment on the subject. The book is not only a history of music, but supplements Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* in placing before us a picture of Muhammadan civilization to the fall of Baghdad. I believe there is not one name omitted, whether of musicians or of patrons of music during the six centuries with which the volume deals. This has had one disadvantage, namely that the author has not been able to give us many details of the lives of the artists, as he could have done, and I hope that in a second edition of the work he will enlarge upon the lives of the most important exponents of the art The great merit of the book is that the proper names of musicians, their instruments, etc , are given in their correct spelling, as these are so often found in almost unrecognizable forms in works dealing with the history of music. Only on one point I must take exception, especially as it is a point which affects also other English works on Eastern history. As a relic of the times when Oriental works were first translated into Latin the names of dynasties are formed by adding fraction of the Latin plural *id* to the end of the name of an ancestor or something similar We are fairly familiar with the Abbasides and Omajades (so generally in handbooks on history), but a string of such names as on p. 186 will prove that something is wrong, especially when we find al-Murawid (al-Murābiṭūn) on p. 222, etc. Nobody would write Hohenzollerides, Bourbonides, Hanoverides, etc. I mention this to show the absurdity of the thing in which the author follows only a common practice.

A great feature of the work is also the registration of almost

all known Arabic works upon music, which will enable competent scholars to pursue their studies further.

Without detracting from the merit of the work I want to make a few remarks upon some points. On p. 88 on the authority of Evliyā Chelebī a tale is told about a certain 'Amr ibn Umayya, who had been present at the wedding of Fāṭima. It is palpable that this man did not exist at all. A similar tale was told by a certain Abu-d-Dunya, who appeared some time after the year 600 of the Hijra in Baghdād and claimed to be so many centuries old and also to have been present at the same wedding, and he too could describe all the musical instruments played upon that occasion. Dahabī in the *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* calls him a brazen-faced liar and impostor. A strange slip is in note 1 on p. 32, the words in brackets being omitted: You must compare the sayings attributed [to me] with the Qur'an, etc. On p. 57 Qand, Find, and Fand (the latter is said to be correct) are one and the same person. On p. 127 the author says that the philosopher al-Kindī was of noble descent. I fear that here the author is misled by the notion that because the tribe of Kinda in the time before Islam boasted of several chieftains who were rulers of the Central Arabian tribes, the philosopher belonged to them. The family of al-Kindī were much simpler folk. They were Christians and resided in the quarter of al-Baṣra, named after the tribe of Kinda. The grandfather of Ya'qūb, the philosopher, was a prosperous dealer in jewels who made journeys to Ceylon to buy rubies, so Bērūnī tells us in his *Book of Precious Stones*, and the same trade was followed by Ya'qūb. As the work is the first authoritative account of Arabian music it should soon require a second edition, which it is to be hoped will carry the studies a little further. In the chronicle of Ibn Iyās I found a statement that Sultan Qanṣūh imported singers in the Arabian fashion to Cairo, but they were no success.

Printers' errors are very few and of little consequence to the non-Orientalist and easily rectified by Arabists. I give

a few: p. xii, read Ḥajar instead of Ḥijr; p. 52, 'Abd al-Mun'im; p. 127, read Biṭriq; p. 128, note 8, read Mashriq, ix, 444; on p. 204, the author informs me, unfortunately the *maqāma* Iṣfahān has been omitted; p. 205, read Gharībat al-Muḥarrar.

279 F. KRENKOW.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF SU TUNG-P'O (A.D. 1026–1101). Translated into English with Introduction, Notes, and Commentaries, by CYRIL DRUMMOND LE GROS CLARK, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Sarawak; and wood engravings by AVERIL SALMOND LE GROS CLARK. The foreword by EDWARD CHALMERS WERNER, H.B.M. Consul Foochow (retired). 10 × 7, pp. 180, wood engravings 19. London: Jonathan Cape, 1931. £1 1*s*.

A CHINESE MARKET: Lyrics from the Chinese in English Verse, by HENRY H. HART, A.B. Foreword by E. T. C. WERNER. 9¼ × 6, pp. xiv + 106. Peking: The French Bookstore; San Francisco: John J. Newbiggin, 1931.

CHINESE POEMS IN ENGLISH RHYME. By Admiral TS'AI T'ING-KAN. Foreword by L. T. CHÊN. 9 × 7, pp. xxii + 146. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. 20*s*.

These three books, which I will treat in the order of their publication, illustrate three entirely different modes of translation. It is a pity that we in our English speech do not express the differentiation preserved by the French between the words *version* and *traduction*. A *version*, according to the article *Traduction* in the *Encyclopédie*, denotes a literal rendering of a text, a rendering in which beauty of style is in no wise considered, desired, or required. A *traduction* is, however, expected to be a literary product, exact of course, but in the spirit rather than the letter of the original.

This differentiation is hardly recognized in English—or in German for the matter of that—which is a pity. Works under-

taken from entirely different points of view are all dubbed "translations", and are all judged by the same standards. The whole issue is thereby confused. Works on the art of translation are apt to confine themselves to the æsthetic point of view, and ignore the wider question as to whether or not the letter of an author's meaning has been brought over into the foreign language.

In *Selections from the Works of Su Tung-p'o*, Mr. Le Gros Clark has made a *traduction*—I use the word in the French sense—and it is therefore as a *traduction*, not a *version* that the book should be judged. And very lovely it is. The style is smooth and rhythmic, and the spirit of Su Tung-p'o is finely interpreted.

These renderings of his famous prose poems are true to the spirit and sense, if not to the idiom of the Chinese. I long to quote typical extracts, but each selection forms a whole which would only be marred by dissection. I can therefore but urge all readers, who are in any way interested in Chinese thought, to lose themselves in these fine translations from the works of a poet whose love of Nature amounted to a passion.

Su Tung-p'o was a famous statesman, but his chief preoccupation was the cultivation of a mood beautifully expressed in *The Pavilion to Glad Rain* "My Pavilion was named Rain to celebrate Happiness," so the poem opens—to my readers I leave discovery of its exquisite ending

A Chinese Market cannot be classed as a *traduction*, and certainly not as a *version*. It is difficult indeed to say just how the book should be classed. Nowhere is it definitely described as a "translation", yet from internal evidence one infers that the author intends it to be judged as such.

The writer of the foreword describes Mr. Hart as "a poet's poet", and possibly this is the reason that Mr. Hart has felt free to add, in the English rendering, all that a Chinese poem suggests to him. In my opinion, even in *traduction* this is inadmissible.

Take, for instance, poem 46—anyone of the fifty included

in the collection would illustrate my point equally as well. The text reads :—

亭口

林下翩〃雁影斜
滿村紅葉映人家
巖頭孤寺見橫閣
有客獨來登暮靄

Ideograph for Ideograph thus can be translated :—

line 1. trees; beneath, flutter flutter, wild geese; shadows, oblique

line 2 overflowing, village, red, leaves; shine on; men's; houses.

line 3 precipice, peak, lonely, temple, see, crosswise, log road

line 4 There is, traveller, alone, come; climbs; sunset; clouds tinged red

To me this text suggests a series of very vivid pictures. I see, with the inner eye, the distorted shadows of the wild geese, the little village buried in glowing trees; an isolated temple perched on the edge of nothingness; a mountain road made of logs, called by the Chinese *ko* 閣, drawing its horizontal line to the temple gate; and lastly a solitary traveller nearing in the evening glow the shrine he seeks, his heart lifting with joy at the fulfilment of his desire. These pictures are for myself alone I should never presume to impose them, in translation, upon the Chinese poet Wên T'ung, author of the poem

To Mr. Hart the pictures suggested are quite different, and he describes them all :—

SUNSET

Wên T'ung

Mid the lengthening shadows of the trees,
In the dark forest, under the hill,
Clamorous, the wild-geese flit to and fro,
Bird calling unto bird, with piping shrill.

The roofs of the town, far out on the plain,
Gleam like autumn leaves in the sunset glow;
To a lonely shrine, perched high on the cliff,
Climbs a weary priest, from the vale below.

Now my point is this: because a Chinese poem by virtue of its terseness is capable of many interpretations, and because it is no function of the translator to interpolate ideas purely his own, *he should confine himself as strictly as possible to the text*. What *I* imagine or what Mr. Hart imagines in regard to the connotations of Poem 46 is unimportant. There is but one matter of moment. What does Wên T'ung, the author, say?

Throughout the book Mr. Hart weaves long verses around a few terse lines of text, verses which may or may not express the ideas of the Chinese poet from whose writing brush the original characters dropped long years ago. Hence I contend *A Chinese Market* cannot be considered as either a *version* or a *traduction* from the Chinese, but as a collection of stanzas suggested to a sensitive Western mind by long reading of Chinese poetry.

Admiral Ts'ai T'ing-kan, whose delightful personality charms all fortunate enough to meet him, has set himself a very definite task. He explains it clearly in his Preface. He will render Chinese poems in English rhyme. He says:—

In translating these poems the rule followed was that each Chinese word be equal to one foot or two syllables in English. Thus, in poems of five Chinese words in each line the pentameter

was used. In poems of seven words in the line, the hexameter was generally used. There are a few exceptions to the foregoing rules.

The prevailing meter is iambic. Elisions have been avoided as far as possible so as not to mar the words, giving the readers the credit of knowing how to treat the words to suit the rhythm in the scanning and reading of the translations. An exception exists in poem No 119 where the word occurs twice. In the third line "flow'rs" has an elision, making it one syllable to fit into the rhythm of the verse, while for the same reason "flowers" in the fourth line is unaltered, retaining its two syllables . . .

. . . .

I have not followed the Chinese order of rhyme which generally begins in the first line, followed by the second and fourth, or begins in the second and followed by the fourth. The forms I have employed are the rhyming couplets and alternative rhymes to avoid the frequent repetition of the same sound which may tire the ear. The rhymes are masculine and are perfect as far as I am aware The rhymes in these translations grow out of the words expressed or out of the sense implied. For instance, in the third line of poem No 77, "set" is implied or understood by the morning moon having been so low down as to be in a line with the house and trees, while "yet", the rhyming word, is expressed by the Chinese words 未曾 *wei ts'êng* "not yet", the exact English equivalent . . .

Now whether by donning this heavy harness of technique —a harness be it noted quite unlike the one assumed by a Chinese poet, and one which fetters him at every turn— Admiral Ts'ai succeeds in giving a more faithful rendering of the Chinese poem than he would have done had he been able to think more of the Chinese thought, and less of the English rhyme, is purely a matter of opinion.

Admittedly a Chinese poem translated into prose or unrhymed cadence loses enormously. The thought expressed may be its soul, but the body of its individuality lies in the

rhyme scheme and tone pattern. These, unfortunately, are impossible to reproduce in a polysyllabic tongue. In Chinese *lü shih* the rhyme comes at the end of five or seven *syllables*. Were we to write

> Cat, dog, pig, and hen,
> All are friends of men

we would have the monosyllables and the rhyme of a Chinese poem, but even then where would be the tones, those marvellous tones wherein the magic of Chinese poetry lies? No the indigenous metrical form cannot be rendered, so why use one foreign to its being? Why force Chinese ideas into European dress? They lose vastly masquerading thus—at least so it seems to me.

Turn to the exquisite lyric by Ch'iu Wei on page 9:—

左掖梨花

冷艷全欺雪
餘香乍入衣
春風且莫定
吹向玉階飛

In translation the text reads:—

LEFT PALACE PEAR BLOSSOMS

line 1. cold; beauty. completely; derides; snow.
line 2. superabundant; scent; envelopes; man's; robe;
line 3. Spring; wind; should; sunset; cease;
line 4. Blown; towards; jade; stairway; fly.

The translation by Admiral Ts'ai runs:—

PEAR-BLOSSOMS IN THE PALACE

> Thy spotless beauty puts to shame the snow,
> Thy perfume through the royal robe shall go
> Uncertain tho' may seem the winds of spring,
> Thy petals waft directly to the King!

The following commentary appears on page 124 :—

Poem No. 9.—The third line also means that the imperial favor is never certain, as varying as the winds of the spring, and many are the rivals at court, with cunning schemes to supplant a good man, but a loyal minister should be guided by loyalty alone and serve the emperor in a straightforward course. *Yü ch'ieh* 玉階 is jade or marble steps—meant for the emperor, as "the Throne" is used for the sovereign—a metonymy

I cannot help thinking that possibly Chinese ideas of strict propriety have hampered Admiral Ts'ai in his explanation. "Pear-blossom" is a euphemistic term generally used by Chinese poets to describe a member of the royal harem. In this case the lady is in all probability not certain of royal favour. It is, of course, not impossible that a statesman is referred to. The exigencies of verse probably force Admiral Ts'ai to use the word "king" instead of the charming Chinese expression "jade steps". Throughout the book one finds similar examples of charming ideas and fascinating figures sacrificed to form

In thus expressing my own predilection for idiomatic version irrespective of metre, I would in no way minimize the fine piece of work Admiral Ts'ai has accomplished. He has toiled faithfully and patiently for years and years to produce in English form smooth readings of the poems he loves; he has added valuable commentaries, and historical notes as well as comparative chronological tables, while the book contains a representative collection of Chinese five and seven character *lu shih*, of the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

481. 706. 723 FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927–8. By R. Campbell Thompson. 12¼ × 8¾, pp. 37, pls. 18. London: British Museum, 1931. 10s.

During the excavations carried on by R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson in the ruins of Nineveh in the winter of 1927–8, on behalf of the British Museum, two prisms with inscriptions in the cuneiform character were found, of which the first one with an inscription of Esarhaddon comes from a locality not far from Quyũngiq, at a spot where Sennacherib of Assyria had built a home for his son, and the second with an inscription of Ashurbanipal was discovered in fragments beneath the level of the flooring of the south-east door of the temple of Nabũ at Quyũngiq Both have now entered the British Museum and add two remarkable pieces to its rich collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities

The prism of Esarhaddon, Th. 1929–10–12, 1, is nearly complete, as only very few signs are wanting, and restores the text of the fragments of a duplicate prism published by Scheil in Paris in 1914. It gives us the story of the accession of Esarhaddon to the throne of Assyria and of his wars, without, however, bringing nearer to its solution in an appreciable manner the puzzling problem of the murder of Sennacherib. Dr. Thompson, who gives us in this book, edited by the Trustees of the British Museum, an excellent transliteration and translation of both prisms, followed by a very clear and neat autographic copy of their text on eighteen plates, discusses the problem of the murder of Sennacherib briefly in the short introduction on pp. 7–8, and comes to the conclusion that it was Esarhaddon himself who was at the head of the conspiracy against his own father and instigated the murder. There are, no doubt, among the arguments adduced by Dr. Campbell Thompson some rather strong ones in favour of this conclusion—the most important is that there is in the whole text absolutely no allusion, not even the

slightest, to the murder of the king by one or more of his sons, older brothers of Esarhaddon. I do not think that even the words in c. i, 41–2, *mimma ša eli ilāni u amēlūti lā ṭāb epušūma* can be construed as a reference to the murder (against Meissner in *SPAW*. of last year, whose discussion of the whole question is very thorough and cautious)—but the other sources, independent, no doubt, from official Assyrian historiography, point clearly in the opposite direction, that is to say, that Sennacherib was murdered by one or two of his sons, not his successor on the throne. Besides that Ardumuzanu (Berosos) is not a corruption of Aššur-aḫ-iddin, but apparently of the Assyrian name corresponding to the Hebrew name of Adrammelech.

The prism of Ashurbanipal, Th 1929–10–12, 2, deals for the most part with the building and religious activities of the king.

I have only a few remarks to make on the translation of the prisms

In the prism of Esarhaddon, v, 25, with (*ilu*)*Šamši* Esarhaddon himself, of course, is meant. The line should be rendered therefore with "Whither can the fox go in front of the Sun" (i e Esarhaddon)?

vi, 37: The sprinkling with *kurunnu* and wine is made on the *šallaru* and the *kalakku* of the palace. Thompson translates those two terms by circling wall and cellar. But *šallaru* is the plaster or plaster wall, as has been proved by Sidney Smith, *RA*, xxi, 78, 79, cf also Jensen in *OLZ*, xxxiii, 883 *Kalakku* has three or four different meanings, but I think it must here mean something very similar to plaster or plaster wall Cellar does not suit our context

In the prism of Ashurbanipal, i, 11, and other passages, *parakku* has certainly the original meaning of seat or throne, and not of palace.

636 GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (SOUTHERN RECENSION). Ed. by P. P. S. SASTRI. 1932.

JAPAN UND DIE JAPANER. By K. HAUSHOFER.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR. From the earliest times to the present day. (The first of its kind; third edition.) By P. GWASHA LAL. 1932.

YAMANA-ENGLISH. A Dictionary of the Speech of Tierra del Fuego. By the Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES 1933.

DIE KAISERLICHEN ERLASSE DES SHOKU-NIHONGI. By HERBERT ZACHERT.

THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON IN SAHIDIC COPTIC, ACCORDING TO THE CHICAGO MANUSCRIPT. Ed. by WILLIAM H. WORRELL. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XII.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF THE LATE DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A., Ph.D., J.P., Principal Sir Jamshedje Jijibhoy Zarathushti Madressa, Bombay. 1932

KONKŌKYŌ : DIE LEHRE VON KONKŌ. By Dr. PHIL WILHELM ROTH.

THE ETHIOPIC TEXT OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES. Ed. by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

VIJARISHN I CHATRANG, or The Explanation of Chatrang and other Texts. By J. C TARAPORE. Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds. Bombay. 1932.

THE MIRROR OF EGYPT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By V. L. TRUMPER.

NŌGAKU · JAPANESE NŌ PLAYS. By BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

11th May, 1933

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M A., F B A , D.Litt., Director, took the chair.

The proceedings opened with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting of 12th May, 1932, the election of five candidates for membership of the Society and the nomination of three others for election at the next General Meeting.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1932-3 AND ACCOUNTS FOR 1932

It is with deep regret that we have to call attention to the great loss sustained by the Society since last May by the death of two distinguished Orientalists.

Professor A. H Sayce, one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, was attracted to Oriental lore as a schoolboy in 1859, when he began to learn Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Assyrian alphabet But his chief interest was in the elucidation of Hittite hieroglyphics He had been an active member of the Society since 1874 and was writing a review for the JOURNAL during his last illness.

In Lieut.-Col J Stephenson, I.M.S , whose grasp of detail and great capacity for work enabled him to specialize in the uncharted field of Oriental botany, the Society has lost a very valuable authority on a little known subject. In his capacity of Zoologist he was a Fellow of the Royal Society and Lecturer at Edinburgh University, while as an Orientalist he translated and edited many MSS at the British Museum and India Office

The Council further regrets the death of the undermentioned members during the past session :—

Hon. Member :—

Dr. Sir J. Jamshedji Modi.

Ordinary Members :—

Major A. D. Molony.

Mr. H. W. Sheppard.

Ma'sud Ali Varesi Sahib

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer
Khan Sahib Farzand Ali.
Mr. F. Anderson.
Rev. J. P. Bruce.
Prof. R. P Chanda
Dr. H Chatley
Mr. J. I. David.
Mr G. R Driver.
Mrs C. Edwards
Capt A G. C. Fane
Major W J Freer
Mr C C Garbett.
Mr H F Hamdani
H E. Mirza Eissa Khan.
Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V Kibe.
Mrs. Latta.
Mr T M Lowji
Miss A D Macfie.
Rev W. MacGregor.
Miss Meadowcroft.
Khan Bahadur A. M Muhammad.
Mr. S. Buta Ram.
Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.
Mr. H A Rose
Mr W J S Sallaway
Lieut -Col R C F Schomberg.
H H the Ranee of Sarawak
Pt. N. V. Shastri
Prof F. Md Shuja.
Mrs G Swinton
Mr L. F. Taylor
Mr S N. Tahir Rizwi
Mr C. G C Trench.
Mr E H C. Walsh

The following have taken up their election :—

As Resident Members

Mr O H Bedford, L R I B A.
Mr J. Heyworth Dunne.
Lady Ginwala

As Non-Resident Members

Mr H D A Alwis
Mr A J Arberry.
Capt. H H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur
Mr I. M Banerjee, M.B.
Prof. N. C Banerji, M.A.
Rev. E. J. Bolus, M A , B.D , I C S
Mr. T Burrow, B.A
Mr. T. C. V. Chariar
S Pt. C B. D Chaturvedi
Mr. K. D. Chaudhary, B.Sc, C.E., M.I B.E.
Mr. S. D. P. Gyani.
Saikh Hasan.
Syed Masud Hasan.

Rev. E. S. Hunt.
Mr. K. K. Kaul, M.A.
Mr. Z. H Khan, B.A.
Mr. Md. A. H Khan.
Miss V. T. Lakshmi, M.A., L.T.
Mr. R. L. McCulloch I P S. (ret)
Prince P. H. Mamour, LL B.
Miss R B L Mathur, B A, L T
Mr A. V. K Menon
Pt. K L Misra
Mr. E. I. C. Mudaliar.
Lt Maharaj S. S Naharsinhji, Saheb Bahadur of Chhota Udepur
Mr B S. Naidu, M C P S
Capt L. H Niblett, A I R O, B.A, J.P
Mr. N. P. Nigam.
Pt. G. S. Parashari.
Mr. N. E. Parry, I.C.S. (ret.)
Mr N. L. Rajpal, M.A.
Mr S S. A. Rizwi.
Mr R des Rotours.
Rev. J. C Ryan.
Mr G. C Saha, M Inst P I.
Sheikh G. Md. Sani, B.A., B.Com
Mr Kaviraj H C Sen
Mr M H Shah.
Dewan A A Sharar.
Thakur K N. Singh, B.A., C S U P
Mr K P. Srivastava, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. G L. Watson, I C S.

As Non-Resident Compounders

Prof. J C, Ghatak
Mr U S Shrivastav, B A., LL B

As a Student Member

Miss C L H Geary

As a Library Member

Sir Charles Bell, K C I E, C M G, F R G S

Under Rule 25a, fifty-seven persons have ceased to be members of the Society owing to non-payment of subscriptions

The membership of the Society shows, of necessity, an ever fluctuating figure. Fresh members are always joining and others are being lost through the vicissitudes and economics of life. The number of members during the past year was reduced approximately from 795 to 750, though subscriptions are still coming in and the fall in membership

will not be as great as it now appears. The receipts for the year came to £3,581, and the corresponding payments to £3,215, though the figure given above for receipts includes certain sums which refer to delayed payments and which should rightly have been credited in the previous year.

Lectures.—The following lectures have been delivered during the past season: they were almost all illustrated by lantern slides.

"The Excavation of Jericho," by Professor John Garstang, of the University of Liverpool.

"Points from a New Collection of Eastern Manuscripts," by Dr. A Mingana, Librarian of the Oriental MSS in John Rylands Library, Manchester.

"Wabar, and the Empty Quarter of Arabia," by H. St. J. B. Philby, who has lived and travelled in Arabia for many years.

"The British Museum Excavation at Nineveh, 1931–2," by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, who was in charge of the work on behalf of the British Museum.

"The Decadent Races of Annam: Chams and Mois," by Mme. Gabrielle Vassal, Legion of Honour.

"Megalithic Burials in South India," by E. H. Hunt, M D.

"The Revival of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Palestine: A Hebrew Vernacular," by I. A. Abbady, Chief Hebrew Interpreter to the Government of Palestine.

"Some Population Problems in Asia," by Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., etc., President of the International Union for the Investigation of Population Problems.

"A Secret of the Summer Palace, Peking," by Sir Reginald Johnston, K.C.M.G, etc., who was Comptroller of the Summer Palace and its Adjacent Estates and Tutor to the Imperial Family.

"Sa'ûdian Arabia," by Capt. C. C. Lewis, who was attached to the Foreign Office Staff in Arabia.

"Marco Polo's Quinsai: The Splendid Capital of the

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions—		
Resident Members	252 0 0	
Non-Resident Members	805 19 0	
Non-Resident Compounders	39 0 0	
Students and Miscellaneous	20 0 5	
		1,116 19 5
Rents Received		749 0 0
Grants—		
Government of India 1931	315 0 0	
" " 1932	210 0 0	
Government of Federated Malay States	40 0 0	
" Straits Settlements	20 0 0	
" Hongkong	25 0 0	
		610 0 0
Sundry Donations		
Princess Handjéri	175 0 0	
Other	19 19 0	
		194 19 0
Journal Account—		
Subscriptions	515 8 1	
Additional Copies sold	110 16 5	
Pamphlets sold	18 1	
		627 2 7
Dividends		92 17 9
Centenary Volume Sales		1 14 0
Centenary Supplement Sales		1 2 8
Commission on Sale of Books		7 8 3
Interest on Deposit Account		9 10 9
Redemption of $4\frac{1}{2}$% Treasury Bonds		132 16 3
Sale of Old Books		16 19 6
Bonus on Conversion of 5% War Loan		3 10 0
Sundry Receipts		17 4 6
Balance in Hand 31st December, 1931		607 17 4
		£4,189 2 0

Investments.

£350 $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent War Loan

£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.

£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1932

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—		
Rent and Land Tax	502 3 1	
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	30 3 9	
Gas and Light, do.	64 9 0	
Coal and Coke, do.	43 9 8	
Telephone	10 5 5	
Cleaning	6 15 0	
Insurance	35 6 6	
Repairs and renewals	4 6 3	
		696 18 8
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND		20 10 6
SALARIES AND WAGES		774 18 4
PRINTING AND STATIONERY		57 14 7
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Printing	1,104 16 6	
Postage	70 0 0	
		1,174 16 6
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE		252 4 1
GENERAL POSTAGE		66 14 2
AUDIT FEE (including Taxation work)		10 10 0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—		
Teas	28 12 10	
Lectures	64 9 6	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	22 11 8	
Other General Expenditure	45 15 0	
		161 9 0
BALANCE OF CASH IN HAND AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1932		
At Bank on Current Account . 366 9 1		
" " Deposit Account . 100 0 0		
At Post Office Savings Bank . 500 0 0		
	966 9 1	
Cash in Hand	6 17 1	
		973 6 2
		£4,189 2 0

NOTE £250 of this £973 6s. 2d. represents the unexpended balance of the Grant received from the Carnegie Trust.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

1932. Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1932. Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance		175 11 0	Binding Vol. VI and X		5 6 9
Sales		61 10 2	Storage of Stock		4 4 10
Interest on Deposit Account		3 3 4	Sundries		0 0 6
			Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary		230 12 5
		£240 4 6			£240 4 6

Asiatic Monograph Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance	114 0 3	Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary	124 13 3
Sales	10 13 0		
	£124 13 3		£124 13 3

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Oriental Translation Fund	230 12 5		Cash at Bank—		
Asiatic Monograph Fund	124 13 3		On Current Account	105 5 8	
		355 5 8	,, Deposit Account	250 0 0	
					355 5 8
		£355 5 8			£355 5 8

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Date	Particulars	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Date	Particulars	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1932. Jan. 1.	Balance		268 11 2	1932. Dec. 31.	Balance— Represented by £282 8s. 8d. 3½ per cent War Loan,	289 1 8	
	Transfer from General Account		20 10 6		Cash at Bank	16 18 9	
	Dividends Received to be Invested	14 2 4					306 0 5
	Bonus on 5% War Loan Received to be Invested	2 16 5					
			16 18 9				
			£306 0 5				£306 0 5

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publications Fund

Date	Particulars	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Date	Particulars	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		129 5 8	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	160 10 3
	Sales	13 4 7				
	Dividends	18 0 0				
			31 4 7			
			£160 10 3			£160 10 3

Gold Medal Fund

Date	Particulars	£ s. d.	Date	Particulars	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	75 11 5		Cost of Medal	32 0 0
	Dividends	9 15 0		Cost of Report of Presentation	3 3 0
			Dec 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	50 3 5
		£85 6 5			£85 6 5

Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

1932		£	s.	d.	1932.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1	Balance	116	16	6	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	137	11	10
	Dividends	20	15	4					
		£137	11	10			£137	11	10

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Prize Publication Fund . . .	160	10	3	Cash at Bank — On Current Account .	348	5	6
Gold Medal Fund . .	50	3	5				
Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund .	137	11	10				
	£348	5	6		£348	5	6

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund)

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).

£645 11*s*. 2*d* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

£40 3½ per cent *Conversion* Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund)

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

15th March, 1933.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts		£ s. d.	Payments		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1932. Jan 1	Balance	4 7 6	1932 Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank on Current Account . . .		5 16 10
	Dividends .	1 9 4				
		£5 16 10				£5 16 10

INVESTMENT.
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans

JAMES G B. FORLONG FUND

Receipts		£ s. d.	Payments		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1	Balance	229 0 2		10% Commission on 1931 Sales		7 8 3
	Dividends	201 15 0		School of Oriental Studies		
	Bonus on Conversion of £253 18s. 4d. 5 per cent War Loan	2 10 9		Bursaries . . .	115 2 0	
	Sale of Books	42 8 1		Lectures . . .	31 10 0	
						146 12 0
				Printing Vol. X . .	61 19 6	
				Binding Vol II .	1 2 0	
						63 1 6
			Dec 31.	Cash at Bank— On Current Account . .		258 12 3
		£475 14 0				£475 14 0

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1942–62.
£1,015 18s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6s. 3d. India 3 per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3 per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"
£253 18s. 4d. 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council. E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

Southern Sung," by the Rev. A. C. Moule, who had been in China for twenty years.

"Christian Subjects in Mogul Painting," by Sir Edward Maclagan, President of the Society.

"The Nicobar Islands," by Lieut.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, C.S.I., etc., who was Chief Commissioner of these Islands for some years.

Short reports of each lecture are published in the JOURNAL.

The Council is happy to announce that the following representatives of Oriental Powers have accepted the invitation of the President and Council of the Society to become Foreign Extraordinary Members under the terms of Rule 10 :—

H.R.H Prince Damrong of Siam.
H E. The Japanese Ambassador.
H.E The Turkish Ambassador
H.E The Afghan Minister
H E The Chinese Minister
H E The Egyptian Minister.
H E. The Iraqi Minister.
H.E The Persian Minister
H E The Saudi Arabian Minister
H E The Siamese Minister.

As mentioned in the last Annual Report of Council, the proposal to vary the foundation of the Public Schools' Gold Medal and Prize Trust so as to form a Universities' Prize Essay Fund has been brought to fruition. The annual prize offered will consist of £20 and a Diploma with the object of encouraging non-Asiatics in the British Isles to take an interest in the history and civilizations of the East, especially India The subject for the competition this year is "The Advantages derived by England and India from their Mutual Relations ".

The printing of the Library Catalogue is being proceeded with, and it is hoped that the result will not prove as costly as was first estimated. As will doubtless be recalled to mind, the Carnegie Trust very kindly promised a sum of £800 for the printing under certain conditions. The second proofs of one batch of cards are now being corrected as also are the first proofs of a second batch. When these have both been

corrected ready for press, a closer estimate of the complete cost of the work will be available.

The task of correcting the proofs has been kindly accepted by the undermentioned :—

Dr. Barnett as regards Dravidian languages.

Dr. Randle for Sanskrit and Modern Indian vernaculars.

Mr. Ellis for Mohammedan languages and Armenian.

Dr. Blagden for Malay.

Sir O. Wardrop for Georgian.

Mrs. Rhys Davids for Pali.

to whom the thanks of the Society are due.

They are also owed to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Oldham for their advice and assistance.

Those members who use the Library will regret to hear of the resignation and retirement of Miss Latimer, who had held the post of Assistant Librarian since 1919. They will remember her kindness and assistance in obtaining their requirements and her helpful knowledge throughout a wide range of subjects. The post is now held by Mrs. Arthur Cardew (formerly Miss F. M. G. Lorimer), who will be known to many members for her knowledge of Oriental matters. Mrs. Cardew was on the staff of the Bodleian and was Assistant to Sir Aurel Stein for thirteen years, nine at the British Museum and four in India. She has been engaged in Oriental work for some twenty years.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mrs. R. W. Frazer, the late Secretary, for her kind voluntary assistance, both in looking through the Catalogue cards as well as in undertaking the compilation of an Index of the *Journal* for the decade 1920 to 1929, the latter being a long needed work. The Index for the current period from 1930 is already in hand. Dr. L. D. Barnett has very kindly helped to sketch out an economical system which will fulfil the requirements for a reference Index.

Oriental scholars will be interested to hear that one of our honorary members, Professor Serge d'Oldenburg, has been

honoured in Leningrad on 1st February, 1933, by a special celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of his scientific work and public activities.

The grateful thanks of the Society are due to the Princess Handjéri for the generous thought which prompted a donation to our funds of the sum of £175. The Princess wished to offer this gift in memory of her late father, Friedrich August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), who was ever a patron of Oriental Studies as well as a writer. His great work *Kaiser Akbar* occupies a place in the Library.

In January last the Council resolved to increase the annual sum invested for the Leasehold Redemption Fund by £10, making it up to £30. This fund was created by the Council on 6th December, 1921, when it was agreed to set aside a sum of £20 for investment annually in December, as an annual premium out of the General Income of the Society, in the purchase and additions to one of the Stocks transferable at the Bank of England whereon dividends may be accumulated. At the end of 1932 it was realized that the yield of dividends from Government securities had diminished. It was therefore resolved in January, 1933, to increase the annual allotment by £10 and to make a total of £30 clear per annum to be secured at compound interest. The balance credit of the account at the end of April, 1933, was £329.

As a result of representations made by the Society last year, the India Office annual grant, which was reduced in 1932 from 300 guineas to 150 guineas, has now been fixed at 200 guineas during the present financial crisis.

The accounts of the Society have been audited as usual by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., Ltd., the firm of professional auditors, and have also been examined by the Honorary Auditors of the Society. The Hon. Auditors are elected annually, one to represent the Council and one to represent the members of the Society. They met Sir Nicholas Waterhouse on 15th March to scrutinize the accounts for 1932, and afterwards reported as follows :—

"We have been through the accounts with Sir Nicholas Waterhouse, who has explained them fully to us. They are, as usual, presented in excellent order, but we would like to point out that the cash in hand (including £500 in the Post Office Savings Bank) is now £973 6*s.* 2*d.*, or about £365 more than at the end of the previous year. This is due largely to the redemption of £132 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds and to a special donation of £175 by Princess Handjéri in memory of her father, who was a keen Orientalist. We would suggest that the investment of a sum at least equal to these two amounts should be considered. We assume that the sum of £1,005 in New South Wales Inscribed Stock has since been converted into Commonwealth Stock.

"Finally we note that the Catalogue of the Library of the Society remains still uncompleted and has required an expenditure of £116 during the year 1932.

"*For the Council:* L. C. HOPKINS.

"*For the Society:* E. A. GAIT."

The number of people using the Library has increased since last year to about 535.

Four foreign applicants have been assisted with the loan of Manuscripts, of which only one is still out. The term of its loan does not expire till July, 1933.

Two photographic copies of works belonging to the Society have been sent to foreign applicants at their own charges, and the Persian Government has asked permission to make a facsimile copy of the text of the precious MS., the Shahnamah. It is required for the celebration, in 1934, of the thousandth anniversary of the writer of the poem, Firdausi, the famous Persian poet.

Under Rule 30 of the Society Dr. C. Otto Blagden, as senior Vice-President for last session, retires, and the Council recommend Sir William Foster to make up the number.

By Rule 31 the Council also recommend the re-election of the Honorary Officers—Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian, Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart as Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as

Hon. Treasurer. By Rule 32 the following members retire from the Council and are not eligible for re-election as such: Sir William Foster, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Oldham. The Council recommend for election in their places: Dr. Blagden, Sir Edward Gait, Mr. C. A. Storey, and Sir John Thompson. They also recommend that Mr. R. P. Dewhurst be re-elected to remain in his position as Member of Council, taken up during the past session, under Rule 28, when Sir Reginald Johnston unfortunately had to resign owing to his duties at the School of Oriental Studies.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend the election as Honorary Auditors for the ensuing year of Sir Edward Gait (for the Council) and Mr. L. C. Hopkins (for the members), together with Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co, Ltd., as professional auditors.

The CHAIRMAN, Professor D. S Margoliouth, said:—

We now proceed to the business of the Anniversary Meeting, which includes the proposal and due election of honorary officers, members of Council and auditors as shown in the draft report, which is already in your hands and has been circulated to all members in the United Kingdom. We shall then proceed to hear from the Hon Treasurer the Financial Report, and then Sir E Denison Ross will propose that this Report be adopted. After this Mr. S M. Mackay will second the adoption.

I will now ask the Hon. Treasurer to read his report.

The HON. TREASURER, Mr E S. M. Perowne, F.S.A., said —

The study of accounts is always an interesting one, and it is curious to note in this case how last year's receipts and payments have worked out. Our normal receipts amounted to only £2,958 8s 5d., while our normal payments were £3,215 15s 10d., thus showing a deficit of over £250, but as usual our Fairy Godmother has appeared, this time under the guise of the Princess Handjéri, whose generous donation of £175, to which allusion has already been made in the

Report, has gone a long way to cover the deficit. Our gross income receipts for 1932 were £3,448 8*s*. 5*d*., excluding balances brought forward from 31st December, 1931, and excluding also the redemption money on the Treasury Bonds which is capital. This total, however, includes not only the generous donation already referred to, but also the delayed grant of the India Office of £315 for 1931, which was only received at the beginning of last year. As against these receipts of £3,448 8*s*. 5*d*. our normal outgoings on the payments side, as I have already stated, amount to £3,215 15*s*. 10*d*. to which, however, must be added the deficiency brought forward from the 1931 accounts arising from the late payment of the India Office Grant, viz. £289 9*s*. 6*d*., thus making our total payments for 1932 £3,505 5*s*. 4*d*., or say a deficit on this last year's accounts of £56 16*s*. 11*d*. This be it noted is really the final result of the accounts for the two years 1931 and 1932, as it takes into account the 1931 deficit of £289.

I now proceed to an analysis of the accounts for 1932 :— Taking first the receipts side, we have a loss of nearly £50 as compared with the previous year on resident members' subscriptions, which during the previous five years had shown somewhat of a revival. We are now back again to the 1927 level. Non-resident members' subscriptions make an even worse showing, as they are nearly £100 down on the 1931 figure, and unfortunately show a constantly decreasing tendency from 1928, when they reached a peak level of £1,028 as against last year's £806. There are no fresh resident compounders this year. Last year we received £40 under that heading, and the non-resident compounders' subscriptions of this year, £39, compare unfavourably with £90 last year. The students and miscellaneous bring in £20 as against £24 and include four students as in the previous year, the miscellaneous being in respect of non-resident subscribers whose remittance falls slightly short of the exact amount of their subscriptions, though now and again we have a penny or two over. The

net result is that our subscriptions total £1,116 19*s.* 5*d.* only, some £242 down as compared with the previous year. This is by far our worst figure since 1924, when our total subscriptions were £1,414, the lowest since then being £1,266 in 1925. This reduction in subscriptions is becoming serious, and we must all try our best to remedy the constant fall in our numbers. There is, in fact, a committee sitting which has this matter in hand and is studying the best method of increasing our membership. The next item, "Rents Received," compares very favourably with 1931, being something like £160 more than we received in the previous year, but when I tell you that our total rents at present only amount to £560 per annum, with the possibility of a further £70 per annum when a room, at present vacant, is let, you will appreciate that some £200 of last year's rents may be considered as due to arrears recovered, and that in 1933, therefore, we shall receive some £200 less under this heading. Under the heading "Grants" I have already referred to the India Grant for 1931, and you have heard about the reduction for last year in the Report. The other grants I am glad to say remain constant.

Donations. You have already been told of the Princess Handjéri's kindly gift, and as regards the others the £19 19*s.* in the Draft Report compares with £51 9*s.* of the previous year, but naturally this heading is liable to constant fluctuations. Now we come to the JOURNAL account, and here I am glad to say that although there is a falling off as compared with 1931 of nearly £100 altogether, it is not serious so far as subscriptions are concerned, which only show a fall of £15. The big fall is in the copies sold and is largely accounted for by the fact that in 1931 we sold a set of the JOURNAL for £86 and did not repeat it last year. The ordinary sales accordingly show a slight increase of some £10 or £12 which is all to the good. The other items on the receipt side do not call for comment, as the redemption of the Treasury Bonds has already been referred to, and the item under the heading

"Sale of Old Books" merely takes the place of the old heading under "Sale of Library Books", and refers to extra copies which we could dispose of.

Now we come to the payments side. The items under House account are some £140 less than the previous year, £120 of which is under the heading of repairs, while most of the other items show small decreases, particularly in light and coal. As to the Leasehold Redemption Fund, the Report has told you that as from this year we have had to increase the premium by £10. Salaries and wages show a saving of some £25 on the previous year, and there is also a small reduction in the Printing and Stationery account. The JOURNAL account is £100 up in consequence of certain special articles it was desired to print, but we shall hope to bring this figure down again to its normal figure of about £1,000. The Library expenditure this last year has not been quite so heavy as the previous year, and the Catalogue is responsible for £116 of the total amount expended. I am sorry to say that all the items under Sundry Expenses show an increase, the total being some £60 in excess of the previous year, but the teas and lectures must be classed as part of the propaganda for obtaining new members and is therefore considered a proper expenditure.

The only further item to be explained is the apparently large sum of £973 6*s*. 2*d*. brought forward as cash balances in respect of which our Society's auditors (not the professional ones) have suggested £300 should be invested. This sum is made up as follows :—£250 as unexpended balance of the Carnegie Grant and earmarked for the printing of the Catalogue ; £200 originally further set aside by us as earmarked also for the same purpose but which has in fact been spent, so that it may now be considered as released, £132 16*s*. 3*d*., representing the redemption money of the Treasury Bonds, which is capital for investment as well as £235 for compounders' fees which is also capital and should be invested ; and there is another £40 earmarked for another purpose,

making a total of £857 17s. 3d., leaving therefore only something over £100 free, which we have always considered it was desirable to keep on hand as working balance each year. While agreeing that we should invest as much as possible, your Treasurer has always had in view the possibility of being called upon at any moment not only for the earmarked sums in connection with the Catalogue, but perhaps further unlooked for expenditure for the same purpose as well as a possible call in respect of deficiency of income. On the advice of stockbrokers and bankers, therefore, none of the capital moneys have recently been invested, having regard to the uncertainty of markets at the present time, but as you will note, £500 has been placed in the Savings Bank, which since the beginning of this year has been increased to £700, and the rest has been left on current or deposit account, for which I hope your Treasurer will not be censured. Recently we have discovered that the Catalogue printing is likely to cost considerably less than at first anticipated. As soon as the approximate amount can definitely be ascertained your Treasurer proposes to make at once the appropriate investment of so much of the accumulated cash as can properly be so dealt with.

With regard to the Special account, I do not think there is much to report The Leasehold Redemption Fund increases year by year, and since the end of last year we have invested some £46 cash. I may perhaps say one word with regard to the Forlong Fund. It will be noted that there was a considerable sum of cash on current account. This is the one case where we have a difficulty in getting rid of our funds rather than in saving them, as the whole of the income should be absorbed by the School of Oriental Studies each year, a process which I believe is now in course of realization.

I cannot complete this survey of the accounts without a further reference to the important question of members. On a recent revision 128 defaulters were struck off the 1931 list and 72 last year, thus bringing the effective number down from

over 900 a few years back to 722 only, as stated in the Report. That the fall is a genuine one is proved by the figures and, as I have said, we must all do what we can to restore, if not increase, the numbers of earlier days. From the foregoing account you will appreciate how we are struggling with adversity so to speak, but in spite of that it is the Council's constant policy and endeavour, with the assent and connivance of your Treasurer, to bear two things in mind: first, that before everything the JOURNAL has now such a high place in the esteem of scholars all over the world that it shall be kept at that point, if not improved, and that there shall be no cutting down of its contents except as a very last resort. The second point is a corollary, viz. that the Library shall be its next care, and if you will turn to the accounts of the previous years you will see that this has been carried out to the full in face of our falling revenues. To this I will only add a general appeal. If any member has anything to give in the cause of learning it will be thankfully received and faithfully applied in the cause of our Royal Asiatic Society, whose good name for scholarship and well-being we all have so much at heart. Let me again express my thanks to Mrs. Davis for all her help to her somewhat exacting Treasurer; she has even risen more than once from a sick bed to attend to his wants.

The CHAIRMAN: I think I may assure the Hon. Treasurer that there is not the slightest prospect of his receiving any censure. We are extremely grateful for the immense amount of trouble that he takes over our accounts and for the very lucid exposition he has here given us.

I will now ask Sir Denison Ross to propose the adoption of the Report.

Sir DENISON ROSS: You have had the financial aspect set before you by our Hon. Treasurer. You will have the spiritual aspect set before you by our Chairman. I will now say a few words on the material side about men and matters. I have been thinking for the past fortnight that my duty this afternoon

was to second the adoption of this Report, and not to propose it; therefore I have had to spend the last half hour writing a speech, which I promise you I will not take nearly so long to read. I only wish to call attention to one or two points. The Chairman will no doubt refer to the losses the Society has recently sustained, but there are two to which I would like to refer myself. First, that of Dr. Sir J. Jamshedji Modi, that fine old Parsee scholar in Bombay, one of our honorary members, who died recently; I would like to pay my own tribute to his memory. He was the Grand Old Man of the Parsee world. Only a few years ago, when 80 years of age, he travelled all the way to Europe in order to see the midnight sun. I thought that was one of the most romantic journeys I had ever heard of. Also he established the Lectureship in Iranian Studies at the School of Oriental Studies. This was established through his hard work in Bombay, at my suggestion, and it is the first time that Iranian studies have ever been endowed in England. I would also like to make a reference to Colonel Stephenson. I was connected with him in his first efforts in Oriental studies when he was a young I.M.S. officer in India and I was honorary secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I have always taken a deep interest in the work he has done, and am proud to think we have always welcomed his contributions to our JOURNAL.

Then with regard to our lectures, the documents are before you and you will see the enormously wide range they cover. In fact, the subjects mentioned on pages 5 and 12 practically take you throughout the whole East, and it is very much to our credit that we should have catered for such a wide range of interest I am not going to specify any of them in particular. You will see in the Draft Report a distinguished list of the Foreign Extraordinary Members beginning with H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam and ending with His Excellency the Siamese Minister. You will have noticed the inclusion of H.E. the Saudian Minister, this is, I believe, the first time the country of Saudia has been mentioned in this JOURNAL.

Then there is the Universities' Prize Medal. The history of this prize is one of the sore points of our Society. Somebody once thought of the excellent idea of giving a handsome prize to be competed for in public schools for articles connected with the Indian Empire. It has unfortunately very seldom produced anything in the way of keen competition, and the prize has seldom been won. We thought this might be improved if the prize were extended to the Universities, and the first year's competitive effort produced, I think, only one essay. But perhaps the result will be better in future if we make a little more propaganda.

In regard to the Catalogue, it is good news to hear from the Treasurer that it is going to cost less than was expected; but, of course, until it is completed the figures may mean anything. At any rate you have one great satisfaction here, that you have got a very fine array of experts who are giving their voluntary services. You will find a list of them in the Report, and if they cannot produce a good Catalogue then no one can. I hope we shall soon have what we have so long wished for, namely an up to date catalogue of this excellent library.

With regard to the JOURNAL and its contents, it will be noticed that the JOURNAL does not figure very largely in the Report; but then we are the JOURNAL and the JOURNAL is us. The only thing we find mentioned is the index, a very important item it is true, which has been prepared by the most kind and willing service of our late Secretary, Mrs. Frazer, who has been good enough to undertake not only to help with the Catalogue but to compile the index from 1920 to 1929, and all scholars will know that a journal without an index is like an index without a journal. We must have the two together. With regard to the contents of the JOURNAL it is very difficult to discriminate, but certain names occur of persons to whom we are duly grateful: Professor F. W. Thomas has continued his great work on the Tibetan documents from Central Asia, and we all know what a great work

that is in a purely pioneer aspect of attempting, from the merest fragments of wood and paper and so on, to restore the history of the frontier garrisons of Tibet in the 7th or 8th century, just as the Chinese scholars have deciphered the garrison correspondence and papers and inventories of the 2nd century from the Great Wall of China. These articles do not make thrilling reading. They are not the kind of thing that keep you awake or send you to sleep; but Professor Thomas has taken upon himself what is purely a labour of love, and I am sure the results of the drudgery involved are deserving of our deepest thanks. Those matters are disposed of once and for all and we are all very grateful to him. We know what the Society as a whole owes to him in the past in many activities and what it looks forward to in the future. I should like also to mention Dr. Farmer, who has devoted himself to the study of Oriental, especially Arabic, music. He sends us his articles regularly, and they are always welcome. Reference may also be made to an important article on a Chinese Libation Urn contributed by Mr Hopkins and Professor Perceval Yetts In connection with the latter we have to congratulate the Courtauld Institute on creating and endowing a new Chair. It is a source of great satisfaction that we should have such a noble subject at last represented in this country. Two other articles I will mention—one a translation by Sir Theodore Morison of a curious memoir by Bernier which led to a little correspondence in *The Times*; the other was an article by Benveniste, a very promising, or rather a very brilliant, young Iranian scholar in Paris, who is the rival of our Mr. H. W. Bailey who holds the Parsee Lectureship in London. We have at the present moment in France and England two young men who are already in the very first rank as Iranian philologists and are devoting themselves to a subject which has been taken up by practically only one scholar in this country, namely West, who died 20 or 30 years ago; and I take this opportunity of pointing out that we have thus in our midst one who can vie

with Mr. Benveniste, who has made a great name for himself in Paris and who has contributed to our JOURNAL.

In regard to the Library, I would like to mention that we have lost a faithful servant in Miss Latimer, who has resigned, but her place is taken by Miss Lorimer, a very old friend of many of us owing to her connection with the Stein Collection and with the Bodleian. We all know her as Miss Lorimer (it is very difficult to call her Mrs. Cardew), the sister of two distinguished brothers, one of whom is still with us. We are very delighted at our good fortune in having her to work in the Library. She has an experience of Oriental listing and cataloguing that perhaps no other woman in the world has ever had.

Then I would in conclusion merely mention some of the faithful servants of the Society. First, our President, who is unfortunately not here to-day, Sir Edward Maclagan. You all know what he has done for the Society; then there is our Director, Professor Margoliouth. You know what his encyclopædic knowledge means to the Society and how keen an interest he takes in every detail of its work. Then there is Mr. Ellis, whose knowledge of Oriental bibliography is much more than unrivalled. Nobody 'begins to know' what Mr. Ellis knows about books. It is not that he is better than anybody else. He stands alone. There is Sir James Stewart Lockhart, our Hon. Secretary, to guide us in the right path in Chinese. There is Mr. Perowne, who devotes valuable time to dealing with our accounts with the help of Mrs. Davis, who runs our office with such efficiency and with so much grace; and finally let us say how we all appreciate the admirable and faithful work already done by our comparatively new Secretary, Colonel Hoysted.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Denison Ross having proposed the adoption of the Report, I will now call upon Mr. Mackay to second it.

Mr. S. M. MACKAY: In seconding the adoption of the report I do so as a non-resident member of the Society.

I should say that a suggestion which I am going to make has largely been forestalled by the Hon. Treasurer in his report of the accounts. The aspect of the Society's activities with which the non-resident member is most familiar is, of course, the JOURNAL. Many of us have not the good fortune to be what I may call whole-time Orientalists, and when living abroad, even in the East, it is not always easy for us to pursue Orientalism. In such cases the JOURNAL fills a very valuable part in sustaining an interest that might otherwise die for lack of sustenance. I do feel, however, that steps could well be taken to make it much more widely known. Colonel Hoysted has given me some leaflets which show that in the past efforts have from time to time been made to reach more persons, but I know from my own experience and others' that one has often to go far out of one's way to keep in touch with Orientalism, and therefore I feel sure that were facilities for joining the Society more widely known we would secure many new members. I do not know just how this should be done, but I would suggest that the matter be canvassed with as many non-resident members as possible and suggestions obtained for activities that would be suitable for each area. I am quite sure that many members abroad would be only too pleased to take a more intimate and personal part in promoting the Society's interests.

As to the report of the year under review, I think we should certainly congratulate the Council on the continuing excellence of the Society's activities. I am afraid I can offer no more helpful suggestion than of a vigorous campaign abroad to bring in new members, and I do think there is plenty lot of room for that.

I beg to second the adoption of the report.

The CHAIRMAN: The Report has now been proposed and seconded. Does anyone else wish to address the Society on the subject? . . . As no one wishes to do so I will ask those in favour of the adoption of the Report, which, as I have already stated, involves the passing of this list of Hon. Officers,

Members of Council, and Auditors, to indicate their desire in the ordinary way.

Passed unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: In the unavoidable absence of the President it falls to my lot to furnish the survey of the Society's past work and future prospects which is usual at the Annual Meeting. In the President's absence we can say without embarrassing him how highly we appreciate the wisdom with which he presides over our deliberations and the energy with which he looks after our interests. It may be added that the work which he has recently published, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by the scholarly qualities which it displays has added lustre to the Society. It would seem that the institution for which the Germans have coined the word *Festschrift* is becoming popular in other countries. In the past year two such works have appeared here, one on a magnificent scale dedicated to Professor F. Ll. Griffith, the first Professor of Egyptology in Oxford and, I fancy, in England, presented to him on the occasion of his retirement from the post which he has filled with so much distinction. Another which has only just been published is dedicated to Professor Rendel Harris, an Orientalist who is not indeed a member of our Society, which however will, I am sure, permit me to offer him its congratulations on the honour. His services to the textual criticism of the New Testament, and his remarkable discoveries of Syriac texts, some of them of extraordinary importance, are well known to all here. One other *Festschrift* which is appearing at this time is dedicated to Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, of the Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut, a member of this Society and a contributor to our JOURNAL. Its method is, I fancy, an innovation, since the contributors are all of them Professor Macdonald's pupils. This method makes the volume *ipso facto* an eloquent testimony to the success of his work as a director of studies.

We have, as has been seen from the Report, to deplore several losses. Professor Sayce, honorary vice-president and

gold medallist: many here are likely to remember the appreciation of his work pronounced in this room by Sir Arthur Cowley and Lord Birkenhead on the occasion of his receiving the Society's medal. He had, indeed, like many men of eminence, *obtrectatores* as well as admirers, but the width of the circle which his fame had reached is gauged by the fact that some of the pocket diaries noted on 23rd September, "Professor Sayce, born 1845." Of Sir J. J. Modi, whose loss we also deplore, Sir Denison Ross has had some very interesting facts to tell us, but I may add that when I was in Bombay a few years ago he gave me a most cordial welcome, and he also gave me some opportunities of seeing with what extraordinary knowledge and energy he pursued his investigations. I think, too, we may include among our losses by death one of a man who is deplored by a very large circle, or indeed number of circles, the late Lord Chelmsford, formerly a member of this Society He also did us the service of presenting our Public School Gold Medal, an occasion on which he defended, as it seemed to me convincingly, the Indian Government, of which he was the head, from the charge of negligence in medical equipment for the Mesopotamian campaign. Having been educated, like the President, at Winchester College, he was a patriotic Wykehamist, and treated all *alumni* of the same institution as old friends. Having held some of the highest offices of State, towards the end of his life he accepted the wardenship of All Souls in Oxford, where he received a cordial welcome. The University greatly deplores the loss of his wisdom and experience, by which it has been able to profit for so short a time.

Since our Society aims at being cosmopolitan, I may mention two losses which the Semitists have sustained of savants not connected with us. One is that of an eminent Syriac scholar, Johan Georg Ernst Hoffmann, of Kiel, who was closely associated with Theodore Nöldeke, whom he succeeded when the latter migrated to Strassburg. For an appreciation of his career and works I may refer to the

magazine *Forschungen und Festschrifte* of 1st March of this year. The other is that of the veteran student of South Arabian epigraphy, J. H. Mordtmann, one of the last of the older school of decipherers. Contributions by him to this subject appeared as early as 1876 · he co-operated with D. H. Müller in more than one of the works in which the basis for the interpretation of these monuments was laid. In 1931 he edited, in conjunction with Professor Mittwoch of Berlin, the inscriptions which were the fruit of the Rathjens-von Wissmann mission ; but he did not live to see the appearance of the latest volume which bears his name wherein he again co-operated with Mittwoch: A memoir of him by Professor Babinger, of Berlin, has appeared.

We have maintained the cosmopolitan character of our JOURNAL by accepting contributions from writers belonging to many nations. Some recognition is due to the persons who have advised the Council in the matter of accepting or rejecting articles offered, and since for a number of reasons India claims a large proportion of our space, a considerable burden has been borne by some of our experts, notably Professor Thomas, who for a long time was honorary secretary, Professor Barnett, and Professor Turner. I must also add Sir Denison Ross, whom we find a constant support in these matters. Our Assyriological experts are likely to be relieved of this duty since the Society has agreed to relegate the bulk of the matter which belongs to this department to a new Journal of Assyriology, for which Professor Langdon has obtained support from several institutions and which will, we hope, appear under the auspices of this Society, though under independent management. We all cordially wish it success, though there are already signs that our membership may suffer in consequence.

You will see from the list of lectures that the Society has used its lecture room to give those who are interested the opportunity of hearing accounts of discovery and explanation from the explorers and discoverers themselves, and owes a

debt of gratitude to those intrepid travellers who have consented to lecture and exhibit the work of their cameras. The task of providing for these monthly or fortnightly meetings is laid on our Secretary, who is justifying the opinion of a certain Statesman, that if we appointed Colonel Hoysted we could not possibly make a wrong choice. I could very much wish that these lectures would not only attract, as they do, large audiences, but would also lead to large accessions to our membership. We have already heard the figures from the Hon. Treasurer, which are somewhat melancholy.

There are three classes of member. Resident members who live in or near the metropolis: There were in 1923, 83, in 1925, 103; in 1932, 80; non-resident members living in Great Britain: in 1923, 121; in 1932, 87; non-resident members living abroad in 1923, 486; in 1928, 564; in 1932, 431. The decline is therefore somewhat serious, and I have not the figures for kindred societies which might justify me in resorting to the consolation which our Statesmen find so efficacious when reporting on the economy of the country, viz. that other countries are far worse off. Still it is worth observing that the Journal of the German Oriental Society which before the war had an extent of 800 pages is now reduced to 234, whereas ours goes up from 1,000 to 1,117; so very likely we could comfort ourselves in the same way. The Council has been trying to find some way of stopping this decline and is considering a decidedly heretical method. For whereas the great economists of the world are agreed that the way to make people buy more is to raise prices, the plan which commends itself to us is to lower them. We think there may be persons whose co-operation we should welcome, especially those who are professionally connected with the studies which we pursue, living in the metropolis, who may be deterred by the three-guinea subscription required of resident members, and the Council has just been endeavouring to make matters easier for this class of possible members. It is true that in these days of specialism only a

portion of the contents of any issue of the JOURNAL is likely to interest any particular member of the Society, and to the charge sometimes brought against us by correspondents that we are hopelessly technical and dry our reply is always that we do not aim at being popular. Our purpose is to provide those who are working in the vast and diverse fields which come within our scope with an opportunity for making the results of their researches known; and the co-operation of Indianists, Semitists, Islamists, Sinologues, and others is not only a more economical plan than that of separate journals for the separate branches, but is more likely to attract workers into each. It has been, and I hope will continue to be, the policy of the Council to see that each branch of study is given its due share of attention. And while we recognize that results should be popularized, being occupied ourselves with what is called spade-work, we could wish for wider recognition of the fact that spade-work is necessary before anything capable of popularization can be obtained, and that membership of the Society is an effective form of participation in the process. And among the reasons which make us anxious to maintain the size no less than the quality of the JOURNAL is the fact that with the nationalism which is so marked a feature of the post-war period fresh countries are entering into co-operation, not always to be distinguished from competition, with us. The Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute is in its fifth year, and it is full of valuable material. But I have been asked to assist in making known one that is even more recent, of which the first number was issued only a few days ago; and as it appears under the management of an honorary member of this Society I feel justified in using this occasion for complying with that request. It is *Al-Andalus*, a review of the schools of Arab studies of Madrid and Granada, of which the directors are Miguel Asin Palacios and Emilio Garcia Gomez. The name of our honorary member, Professor Asin Palacios, is well known and highly esteemed in this country as elsewhere, and his services to Arabic literature and

especially that of Moslem Spain are generally acknowledged and appreciated, and so I may end with a word of good omen, and ask the Society to join with me in wishing his new enterprise success.

Christian Subjects in Mogul Painting

A lecture was delivered on the above subject by Sir Edward Maclagan on the 9th March, 1933.

The lecturer, approaching the subject from the historical rather than the artistic standpoint, described the attitude adopted by the three Mogul sovereigns, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, towards the art of painting and towards the Christian mission which was established during their reigns at the Mogul court Slides were exhibited to illustrate the presence of the Christian missionaries at the Court and the class of pictures which they introduced from Europe.

The large mural paintings, with which the Imperial buildings at Sikandra, Agra, and Lahore were decorated, included several with Christian motives. These paintings had disappeared, but their existence is proved both by the evidence of travellers and by the contemporary miniatures which display the interiors of the Mogul palaces

The small paintings, known as miniatures, used partly as illustrations to books and partly as material for portfolios and albums, treated not infrequently of Christian subjects. A substantial number of these were demonstrably based on uncoloured prints executed by Flemish engravers (such as Galle, Sadeler, and Wierix) and imported from Antwerp · others were copies of known engravings by the German Master, Albert Durer, and the lecturer was able by means of adjacent slides to exhibit the correspondence between the original engravings and the Mogul painted copies in each case Examples were given, for instance, of Mogul paintings based on the " Maria am Baume " of Durer, on his " St. Peter and the Cripple ", on one of his " Crucifixions ", on his

"Christ before Caiaphas", and on his "Standard bearer". The lecturer then proceeded to show several slides to illustrate the Mogul miniatures of the Madonna or the Madonna and Child, followed by a number displaying incidents in the life of Christ. Some of these were taken from the "Album of Jahāngīr" at Berlin, others from the "Album of Dārā" and the "Johnon Collection" at the India Office Library, and others from the British Museum and the India Museum, and from public and private collections in all parts of the world, including a valuable but much damaged series of illustrations to a Persian "Life of Christ" in the Lahore Museum, and some interesting examples from the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty in London. The slides included a remarkable portrait of Shāh Jahān with Christian symbols, a miniature of the angels ministering to Ibrāhīm bin Ādham (at one time wrongly believed to represent the angels ministering to Christ after the Temptation), and some mysterious pictures which have at times been taken to symbolize the "Good Shepherd" of the Gospel.

The Nicobar Islands and their Inhabitants

On Thursday, 13th April, Lt.-Col. M. L Ferrar gave a lecture illustrated by fifty lantern slides before the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Nicobar Islands and their Inhabitants". Col Ferrar was for eight years Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

He said: We all know too well what has happened to primitive races in so many parts of the world, particularly among island communities long isolated and thus more liable to suffer from the impact of a new and more complex culture. Have the Nicobarese escaped and are they going to hold their own?

First let us notice the situation of the Islands. Up from the bed of the Bay of Bengal, which is at a depth of 2,000 fathoms, there rises a great submarine ridge which runs in a 700-mile arc from Cape Negrais in Burma to Achin Head

in Sumatra. Preparis, the Cocos, the Great and Little Andaman, and the Nicobars may all be regarded as groups of mountain tops emerging above water from this ridge. There are deep gaps of 600 fathoms or so between the groups. The physical characteristics of the Andamans and Nicobars differ considerably one from the other and are, in my opinion, largely accountable for the startling difference between their inhabitants. The great Andaman has a hilly surface covered with dense forest and little adapted for the development of a primitive agriculture, even of the tropical garden and orchard type, still less of the rice and cereals type. There is a very indented coast, the eastern and western halves of which alternate with each other in being exposed or protected from the monsoons for half of each year. The consequence has been that for 5,000 years, as their kitchen middens prove to us, the Great Andaman has been peopled solely by a race of nomadic shore-dwelling hunters and collectors of food who have never learnt to plant and grow for their use anything whatsoever. During all that time the wild appearance of the country and the fierceness of its people effectually preserved it from the intrusion of strange settlers.

By the year 1858 the Andaman Islanders had rendered themselves unbearable through the cruelties they practised on all mariners cast away on their shores and the Government was forced to open a settlement in their islands. Its institution coincided with the close of the Great Mutiny and the new settlement was a penal one with mutineers for its early batches of convicts It was essential on all grounds to turn the hostility of the savages into friendship and in the course of doing this we set up too close a contact with them

The physical characteristics of the race briefly are that they are small—men about 5 feet, women 4 feet 10 inches, with glossy jet-black skin and short curly hair—muscular, and powerful, but unable to resist disease of any sort. In 1858 there were perhaps 4,000 of these little people living

scattered along the beaches and creeks. To-day there are but sixty of their true descendants alive, and another thirty with Indian blood in them.

I have said we maintained too close a contact. We taught them to wear clothes without their being able to grasp the function of clothes at all. We took them from their snug huts and exposed them to the winds under our pile-built houses, thus giving them chest complaints. We taught them to grow sugar cane, to row with English oars, to pick out letters of the alphabet, and to wait at table. When they escaped to their jungles we fetched them back. In an incredibly short space of time, less than twenty years, the mischief was done. By 1878 they were a doomed race. In our well-intentioned nineteenth-century self-satisfaction we had destroyed their scheme of life and their culture and had failed to give them anything in exchange except new diseases which they were unable to combat. Now there are sixty left out of 4,000. A cruise past their deserted beaches and through untenanted creeks where no sign of human life is to be seen inevitably fills one with melancholy.

The Önges of the Little Andaman have been more fortunate. We made friends with them in the eighties and have since kept them at arms length. They have diminished by 30 or 40 per cent, but under existing conditions should dwindle no further.

Turning to the Nicobars we find that physical conditions vary from island to island and in proportion as they approach those of the Great Andaman you get the density of the population growing less and its culture more primitive. Of the twenty islands, large and small, only half are inhabited. Of these Car Nicobar and Chaura consist almost entirely of raised coral beaches, they are covered from end to end with coconut groves and support a dense population of 150 to the square mile. Several others, Teressa, Bompoka, Camorta, and Nankauri present the most beautiful views to the traveller at sea. Frequent beaches of white coral sand are fringed at

the back by coconuts, with then a belt of *pandanus*, the screwpine or Nicobar bread-fruit, called by Dampier the mellory tree; behind them some tropical forest, from which emerge gently contoured hills running up to 800 feet, covered with grass and separated by wooded coombes. The effect is often that of park land and recalls the scenery of the temperate zone. Here the density of the population drops to 10 per square mile. The remaining islands, Kachal, Great and Little Nicobar, and their satellites Pulo Milo and Kondul are more mountainous and covered with forest. Mt. Thuillier in the Great Nicobar rises to 2,700 feet, and from it several navigable rivers run to the coast This island, 333 square miles in extent, is covered with forest except for a few strips of coconuts and pandanus behind the infrequent beaches. The density of the population has a further drop in these wooded islands to 1 per square mile. Throughout the Nicobars the beauty of the scenery is greatly enhanced by the wonderful variety in the colour of the sea as it is affected by the clouds or by the presence of coral or sand in the shallows. But this beauty of land and sea is general to all tropical islands.

The Nicobars lie on the ancient trade route to the East, and from the earliest times the abundance and the excellence of Nicobar coconuts and the presence of other commodities, such as ambergris, tortoiseshell, green snail, edible sea-slugs, and edible bird's-nests, have brought traders to the islands, and for an equally long time we may assume that the present inhabitants have been established there They were first mentioned by the Chinese traveller I'Tsing in A D. 672, and from that time have been known by historians and travellers as "Nakkavaram", the land of the naked, and, indeed, not only "naked" but "possessing tails", for this was the belief engendered by the dangling ends of the islanders' loincloths. For 250 years and more there have been spasmodic attempts by different European powers to colonize the islands and still more to evangelize the people. All have ended in failure. Our immediate predecessors were the Danes who finally

relinquished possession of the islands in 1848. For the next twenty years the Nicobarese of the central group practised a murderous piracy on all vessels driven to shelter there by force of circumstances. Unlike the more accidental outrages which sent us to occupy the Andamans these attacks were at times premeditated and at others a rough way of settling accounts with greedy traders. When the tally of pirated ships reached twenty-six the British stepped in and annexed the group. An offshoot of the Port Blair penal settlement was opened in Nankauri harbour and the Andamans and Nicobars were jointly formed into a small province, or to use the official term, "a minor local administration," under a Chief Commissioner at Port Blair in the Great Andaman, who was directly under the Home Department of the Government of India. In twenty years' time piracy had become a vague memory and the Nankauri settlement having thus fulfilled its purpose was evacuated.

The Port Blair station ship still kept up periodic visits, but resident authority was reduced to two native Indian agents at Car Nicobar and Nankauri respectively. Twelve years ago the former made way for a European Assistant Commissioner in charge of the whole group and a full time tahsildar relieved the agent at Nankauri. These two officials have duties quite unlike those performed by persons with similar designations in India. One must consider them as protectors rather than rulers. They collect no revenue from the Nicobarese nor do they perform any judicial work unless the parties are outsiders. Their chief duties are to regulate the presence and activities of outside traders, to protect the Nicobarese from their rapacity, and to settle disputes between the two communities. This they do under the special law of the province known as Reg. III of 1876. Under this regulation the landing and residence of strangers was as rigidly controlled in the Nicobars as in the Andamans, for there were penal settlements in both places. Trading in the Nicobars was also forbidden except under licence. To the

fortunate existence of this control we can ascribe the continued freedom of the Nicobarese from all forms of spoliation by more worldly folk. The traders know themselves to be liable to immediate ejection if they misbehave. Armed by the regulation the local officers have decreed that nó Nicobarese shall be given goods on credit or be sueable for debt by a non-Nicobarese. All transactions are to be cash ones if cash is the word to use where the currency is in terms of coconuts. The revenue of the islands comes solely from traders' licence fees and from the royalty of 10 per cent *ad valorem* paid by them on all island produce exported. Both officers are rather tied to headquarters. The tahsildar has a steam launch with a rather restricted steaming radius, and the Assistant Commissioner is unable to leave Car Nicobar except when every two or three months the station steamer arrives from Port Blair for a four or five days' cruise in the islands. The arm of the law consists of a police guard of one to three men at Car Nicobar which the Assistant Commissioner usually declares he does not need. At Nankauri the tahsildar has ruled solely through personal charm—the smile without the thick stick. Among his charges must still be the sons of many a blood-stained pirate For the rest the Nicobarese are left to govern themselves through the medium of their headmen known locally as " Captains "

Brigs from Moulmein or the West Coast of India bring rice and piece goods and luxuries such as felt hats or electro-plated spoons For these last there is a good demand. They may be used for their normal purpose but are mostly in evidence as ornaments, stuck in a man's armlets and leg bands on holidays. In return the brig will load coconuts and some copra and other local products. Our own ship's motor-boat takes passengers just short of where the surf is breaking and we transfer into a local canoe, the crew of which, after biding their time and throwing many a look over their shoulders, will suddenly with loud grunts and shouts paddle us on to the top of a wave which breaks on the beach and

carries us well up it. Not everyone escapes mishap, and ten or eleven years ago the Bishop of Rangoon and his wife arrived quite the wrong way up and completely soaked to their own and everyone else's great joy. And here I may say that the trip to the Nicobars possesses a great charm for the European, largely owing to the freedom and simplicity of everything. The people, while never rude or impertinent, care little for rank and practise no ceremony and are more likely to show deference to someone because they like him rather than because he is, say, the Deputy Commissioner. Add to this the feeling that bad temper is a positive sin and that the very appearance of the people is a joke—indeed, bad temper used to be a crime punishable with death. The result is an atmosphere of jolliness and good humour that lasts so long as there are Nicobarese in sight.

On one of my early visits to the islands I had to try two men of Teressa for devil murder, a shockingly cruel form of lynching Accompanied by my family and one policeman I was piped down the side of the R.I.M. ship in which we were touring and was rowed ashore with due ceremony, an ensign in the stern and the Chief Commissioner's flag in the bow. At the top of the steep sandy beach was the Inspector of Police in his uniform, red U.P. head-dress and, to mark the fact that he was prosecutor, a black gown on his shoulders. Only the exercise of great agility brought us moderately dry ashore. Led by the solitary Inspector in his gown we walked to the village to find a crowd of forty or fifty naked Nicobarese. The Inspector found it difficult to stage the trial and sort out the two accused from the rest of the crowd. All was at last in order and the solemn trial of two men on a capital charge had begun : pleas of guilty were being recorded when there was a renewed hubbub. The officer who had escorted us ashore was thrust through the crowd with a gun in his hand and his trousers rolled up over his knees. Apologizing to the judge for his unintended intrusion he said he was in search of wild pigeon. There was immediate

questioning in the crowd and the two accused, smiling broadly, each put up a hand like board school boys in class and gave the required information. The officer melted away and the court proceeded in the space of some four or five minutes to convict the accused on their own statements and to sentence them to death. All knew this to be a sort of a bad joke on the part of the judge who, assuming the functions of Chief Commissioner, immediately commuted the sentence to one of two years' imprisonment

Mus is the chief of the nine villages of Car Nicobar and is also the headquarters of the Assistant Commissioner and of the S.P G Mission and the school and hospital maintained by it with Government aid. An essential part of the village is the *El Panam* or public meeting place. On one side is the graveyard with each grave marked by a post like a rough capstan Behind them are more round huts for social ceremonies but the two gabled huts are set aside, one for births and the other for deaths In these two huts every resident of Mus, whose life works out according to plan, should first be born and finally die. Here lives a well-known resident, John Davidson, and his family. Like many elderly Nicobarese he can talk a little English in addition to Burmese, Hindustani, and possibly Malayalam. In the central group Burmese gives way to Malay in which language the Nicobarese transact business with the Chinese traders. The ability to pick up several languages is a general Nicobarese trait and is a proof of their quickness and adaptability

Canoe racing is a very favourite sport Fine, muscular, powerfully built young men form the crew. They include some twenty five paddlers, four or five bailers, and a coxswain. After chanting an impressive chorus they proceed to launch the canoe, and run her out into the surf. On the day we said good-bye to the Nicobars, in February, 1931, we watched a race between two of these great canoes. A big swell was running and one canoe was swamped. The paddlers jumped over the side and held on while the bailers worked wooden

hand scoops with such a frenzy that in little over a minute, so it seemed, they had shovelled some tons of water out of the canoe. The paddlers then climbed in and went off again.

These canoes often visit the next inhabited island, Chaura. They bring back large earthen pots. These are the object of one of the most rigorous and probably one of the most salutary tabus among ocean peoples. The men of Chaura have established a tabu under which they, or to be exact their women, alone may make cooking pots for the whole of the population of the Nicobars of which they form little more than the twentieth part. People requiring pots must either await the arrival of a canoe from Chaura or must proceed to Chaura themselves. For the men of Car Nicobar the trip is fraught with danger If they fail to sight the little desert isle of Batti Mal half way the strong currents that run may take them far away from the islands and out into the Bay of Bengal. For a Car Nicobar boy his first trip to Chaura is equivalent to his coming of age and is preceded and followed by befitting ceremonies. Not the least danger in former days was that of outstaying one's welcome among proud and contemptuous hosts whose supplies were limited and who would not scruple to slaughter their guests should the latter be unable to get away before the onset of the south-west monsoon.

The inter-island trade is regulated by tabus similar to that governing the trade in cooking pots. They all have their origin in the suitability of a particular island for the supply of a particular commodity. For instance the islands of Chaura and Car Nicobar have no trees for canoes and must procure the latter from farther south. But in the matter of pots it is known that the clay on Chaura has long been exhausted and all supplies of clay have to be fetched from Teressa. So strong is the moral ascendancy of the aristocrats of Chaura that the Teressa people dare not use their own clay and make their own pots. The effect and the value of regulating trade by tabu has only recently been recognized. The absolute

necessity of performing dangerous sea voyages fosters many good qualities—of enterprise, skill in seamanship, of power and endurance, of courage and pride, and other generous feelings which are all in evidence among the Northern Nicobarese but less noticeable in the Southerners whose wants are close at hand. The breakdown of these tabus would assuredly result in degeneration and the loss of manly virtues.

All authorities unite in considering the Nicobarese to be of Indo-Chinese rather than Tibeto-Burmese or Malayan stock. Philological research supports this theory, for the language is stated by Sir George Grierson to have affinities with the Mon and Tlaing languages of Tenasserim and the Khmer languages of Cambodia. Differences in customs particularly those concerning burial and disinterment suggest that the original immigrants were not quite homogeneous. Since then there has certainly been further dilution through contact with Tlaings, South Indians, Malays, and Chinese. The purest type is found in Chaura the people of which have an aristocratic contempt for all other Nicobarese to whom they are superior in culture and in tribal and economic organization The Car Nicobarese are quite clear about *their* origin. They descend from a man and a dog blown out to sea on a raft. As proofs of the correctness of this pedigree they point to the ceremonial fillet said to recall the ears of their ancestress and to the loose end of the *Kisat* or loin-cloth, which symbolizes her tail, and also to the fact that they alone among the Nicobarese do not eat dog. The complexion of the Nicobarese is yellowish or reddish brown, and the hair straight. Good looks are not their strong point, especially among the middle-aged and the elderly, whose teeth are blackened and carry heavy incrustations of lime and betel nut. They are not of great stature but are remarkably muscular. The gait is sluggish and slouching but when climbing a coconut tree, paddling a canoe, or building a house they show great activity and application Europeans who land for a few hours talk of them as lazy, but laziness is a relative

term. They are no more lazy, taking the climate into consideration, than rich men in England who have little work but many occupations. In Car Nicobar no one is poor or looks unhappy and no one need ever be hungry, so it is obvious that the output of work is sufficient. The excellence of their houses, canoes, and other works of their hands show them to be able and persevering craftsmen. Their dress or its absence you have noted. To it they are fond of making laughable additions in the way of head-dress. Top hats were the favourite but are now as rare as they are in Piccadilly of a forenoon in August. They make up the deficiency with soft hats, boaters, panamas, and gay coloured jockey caps. With the top hats have gone most of the names given to the chiefs and others by sailing-ship captains, names such as Corney Grain, Davy Jones, Ally Sloper, or Tin Belly. The mere introduction to a naked savage grotesquely hatted and announcing himself in passable English as Mr. Pell or Captain Dixon puts you in good humour for the rest of the morning, but you must laugh *with* him and not *at* him, for he has a keen sense of his own dignity and that of others.

The main foods of the Nicobarese through the ages have been firstly the local bread fruit which is a large cultivated *pandanus* and not the *artocarpus* of the South Seas, and secondly the coconut. The place of the former is largely taken now by imported rice but the coconut remains in favour as drink no less than food, for few Nicobarese drink anything but green coconut milk. The fruitfulness of the trees is immense and it is well that it is so, for a man of prosperous means uses up 300 nuts a day on his household and his pigs, dogs, and fowls. The food most beloved of all is pork, and the Nicobarese sets more store on his pigs than on any other of his property.

The people are undisguised animists who feel at all times the pressing need to scare away the evil spirits that are ever ready to do them harm—or, failing that, to propitiate them. This is carried out through exorcists known here as *menluanas*.

In Car Nicobar the novices training to become *menluanas* are called *maa fai*. Much of the propitiation of evil spirits takes the eminently practical form of feasting. Every two or three years in Car Nicobar—that is to say, as soon as the stock of pigs has recovered from the slaughter on the previous occasion—there is an ossuary feast held by the entire village. Six weeks or so before, they erect on the well-kept village square a very tall mast from which at some hazard they suspend all manner of choice foods for the dead. Rows of pig pens are built all round the square and as the time draws near great numbers of pigs are snared and penned. Many guests are invited and the festival begins with a whole night of singing and dancing round the tall mast. The next day is spent in killing and eating pork. Then the mast is cut down and thrown away. Some of the boars are semi-wild and these are let loose, one at a time, and played with by an unarmed man whose object is to seize the boar by the ears before the latter gashes him with his tushes The guests leave that evening, and then next day comes the digging up of the dead of some two years ago. After a night of vigil the bones are cast into the ossuary, a piece of rough ground covered with undergrowth. More feasting follows, with single-stick play, wrestling, and a boat race, and a final great dance brings the long orgy to an end

Immediately inside the entrance to Nankauri harbour lies a picturesque village Its protected position allows the houses to be built on the water In the shallows are planted tall bamboos bearing tufts of grass to scare away spirits that would invade the village from the sea. In the background are slopes of lalang grass crowned by casuarina trees under which lie the remains of the talented de Roepstorf murdered here in 1883 by a Madrasi soldier when in charge of the Settlement

The anchorage at Pulo Milo, a small island off Little Nicobar, is the loveliest imaginable and hard to beat for scenery anywhere in the tropics. Behind are the wooded hills of Little

Nicobar rising precipitously to 1,700 feet. A paddle of a mile or less lands you on one of its beaches. Its 58 square miles only support a population of 57. Kanalla or Pulo Babi on the west of the Great Nicobar is generally visited by the station ship.

In the interior of Great Nicobar live the Shom Pen. The shore Nicobarese dread these wild folk so much that, except at Kanalla, they have evacuated the mainland and live on two or three small islands a mile or two off shore. A curious barter is carried out by the Shom Pen depositing rattan cane at certain trysting spots and coming back later to take away piece goods and other things left in exchange by the shore folk. For many years no European has encountered these shy elusive people, but the census party which I and my family accompanied in 1931 were fortunate in finding a small village of their's on the Alexandra river. Paddling very quietly up-stream we came on one of their huts on lofty poles —and were round the bend and at their village before they had time to run away. The village and its inhabitants are dirty and degraded. Our anthropologist, Dr. Naidu, made the most of the opportunity and took measurements of all the Shom Pen present.

The Christians in Car Nicobar number 340 out of a total population of 7,500, but as they include all the educated Nicobarese they exercise a growing influence in the island. They are expected to, and do, live a life of greater self-control than their pagan brethren; less of the prolonged feasting and toddy drinking, and excessive chewing of betel nut which the older pagans indulge in, and less of the promiscuous love-making of the younger ones, and, of course, an avoidance of superstition, exorcism, and other animistic practices. Like converts elsewhere they are exceedingly devout. For the rest, they are not kept apart but are encouraged to remain Nicobarese and to excel in manly sports of every kind. Here I must stress one of the most charming traits of this people. All wish to excel but not to win at sports. Thus it is that

canoe races have no start and no finish. Betting is naturally unknown.

Taking the Nicobars as a whole what has been the result of annexation by the British and what further results may be expected? The Nicobarese had long enjoyed a settled life, a strong social system, and a distinctive culture and for centuries had been in touch with the outer world. Consequently our assumption of control did not disrupt their life or introduce new and fatal diseases. On the contrary we excluded all interlopers and exploiters and only allowed foreign traders in on sufferance. At the same time we left the people very largely to themselves, and interfered as little as possible in their internal affairs, except that we suppressed devil murder and dealt severely with all crimes of violence. The effect on the population has been that in the central group, where we found stagnation and apathy among the natives and left them to themselves without supplying them with education or adequate medical aid, the population has slightly decreased. In the two northern islands where the people were active and virile and where educational and medical arrangements have been better, there has been a considerable increase in numbers. The population of Car Nicobar has doubled in thirty years but saturation has not been reached for the island can still export 5,000,000 coconuts per annum. The rate of increase is unlikely to present any great difficulty for there is room on Kachal and Great Nicobar for any surplus numbers from the North for a very long time to come. The question of quality is more important than that of quantity. Here we find Mr. Bonington's Census report extremely interesting. He has two misgivings. The first is that the substitution of an Assistant Commissioner for an agent will mean eventually that the Captains of the villages will lose their authority and the tribal system will collapse. I think he has overestimated the degree of interference that has occurred, but he has done a service in pointing out the probable consequences of too much interference. His second

misgiving is about the consequences of the disappearance of existing tabus as a result of conversion to Christianity, or of sophistication through other means. He quotes a very interesting work by S. H. Roberts in *Population Problems of the Pacific* in which the writer says "Destruction of tabu and its consequent interests destroys the sociology of primitive tribes and their minds are left a perfect blank". The tabus Mr Bonington has in mind are those which stimulate inter-island canoe voyages with their hardships and dangers. In his *Argonauts of the West Pacific* Malinowski has also pointed out the tonic influence of such voyages. So far there are no signs of any weakening of the trade tabus but Mr. Bonington has performed a service to the Nicobarese in drawing attention to their value.

In conclusion you may be interested to hear what the Nicobarese think of the impending changes of the Constitution. On the day I said good-bye to them in 1931 the nine Captains of Car Nicobar stepped forward and presented a petition begging that they should never be placed under the control of Indians who would inevitably ruin them. They begged to be put under the Colonial Office or, failing that, to be handed over to Burma. The petition was forwarded by me to Government.

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Excavations at Kakzu (Qaṣr Šemamok)

The Italian Archæological Mission to Mesopotamia has begun excavations under the leadership of Giuseppe Furlani, Professor at the University of Florence, in the ruins of the old Assyrian town of Kakzu, of which the *tell* is now called Qaṣr Šemamok and is situated not far from the Zab al-A'là and to the west of the town of Erbil, the ancient Arba-ilu and Arbela. The excavations were begun in February and closed at the end of April.

The results were quite satisfactory. The Mission has discovered near the Curdish village of Sa'dāwah a trace of

the walls of the city, built with baked bricks by King Sennacherib, as is proved by an inscription of this king impressed on many of the bricks of the wall. To the west of the *tell* a necropolis has come to light, belonging to the Parthian period. Some beautiful sarcophagi glazed in green were found there, together with many vases of different shapes, beads, objects of iron and bronze, cylinder-seals, and many other antiquities.

Professor Furlani has been able to trace the course of the walls of the town and has discovered outside them an Assyrian house, posterior to the time of Sennacherib According to the inscription found on them, some of the bricks belonged to the palace built by this king in the royal town of Kakzu. Fragments of inscriptions scattered on the ground prove that there was at Kakzu a royal palace in the middle-Assyrian period.

The Mission has also found prehistoric objects and some potsherds belonging to the same period. Some prehistoric finds have also been made in the neighbourhood of the concession. The excavations will be continued in December next All the antiquities brought home by the Mission will be deposited and exhibited provisionally in the Museo Archeologico at Florence

Islamic Research Association, Bombay

An appeal has been received in connection with the proposal to found an Association for Islamic Research in India The initial rate of subscription has been fixed at the nominal sum of *Rs* 3 per annum As soon as funds permit the Executive Committee intend to publish a Journal to which the most eminent scholars will be invited to contribute.

All contributions should be addressed to —

Asaf A. A Fyzee, Esq.,

Secretary, Islamic Research Association,
43 Chaupati Road, Bombay, 7, India.

Notices

On account of the Summer Holidays it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

The hearty congratulations of the Society are offered to Sir John Marshall upon the recent award to him of the triennial gold medal for historical research by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay.

It is hoped to publish in the near future, as a Supplement to the JOURNAL OF THE R.A.S., an Index of the Contents of the JOURNAL for the decade 1920–9. For this reason the contents of the October Number for 1933 and the Numbers for 1934 must be correspondingly reduced. The Editor regrets that the reduction will unavoidably necessitate a slight delay in the publication of certain articles and reviews.

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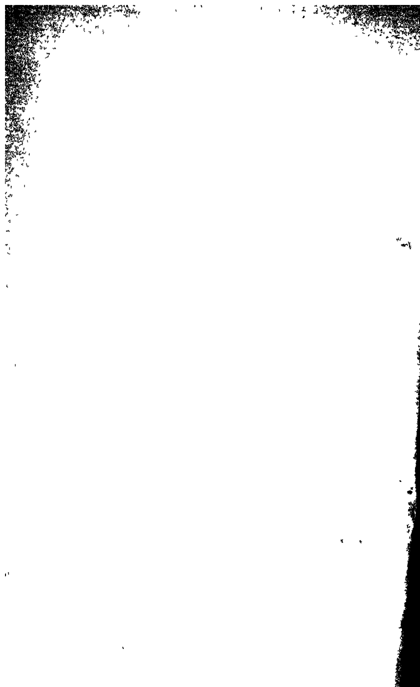
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NOTICES OF BOOKS

PAGE

PAGE

India, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc, by C O Blagden.

PAGE

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ERRATUM

R A S. Journal, April, 1933.

p. 414, l. 18. For *sboyl* read *sbrul.*

JOURNAL OF THE
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1933

PART IV.—OCTOBER

Early Aramaic Dialects and the Book of Daniel

BY H. H. ROWLEY

NEARLY six years ago, G. R. Driver published a paper in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*,[1] in which he examined some of the arguments dealing with the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel, which had been presented by Charles Boutflower in his work *In and Around the Book of Daniel.* Three years later, in the course of an examination of the relation of Biblical Aramaic to other early Aramaic dialects,[2] I took the opportunity of replying to a number of inaccurate or misleading statements and untenable hypotheses on the subject of the Aramaic of Daniel which appeared in the writings of certain defenders of the traditional date and place of origin of that book, including Boutflower. A rejoinder has now appeared from Boutflower's pen, dealing with a limited area of the field, in the form of a brief monograph, published under the title, *Dadda-'idri, or The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel.* In this little book Boutflower replies to Driver and myself, and presents what he feels to be new light on the subject. A superficial reading might leave the impression that there was some ground for his theory, but a little examination reveals such omissions and assumptions and such misuse of evidence as to vitiate the argument. Indeed,

[1] *The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel*, J.B.L., 1926, pp. 110–19.
[2] *The Aramaic of the Old Testament A Grammatical and Lexical Study of its Relations with other Early Aramaic Dialects.*

the real issue is that of the validity of the evidence we possess, for fundamentally Boutflower seeks to set aside the evidence that has survived in favour of the evidence he assumes to have perished.

I

In his earlier work Boutflower had seized on a suggestion made by the late R. D. Wilson,[1] and argued that the cuneiform transcription of the name Hadadezer provided proof that the phonetic substitution of *d* for *z* in Aramaic was much older than the sixth century B.C. To this Driver replied that as the root עזר = *help* is not found in Akkadian, while in that language *izru* = *a curse*, it was possible that the word had been deliberately altered by Assyrian scribes. The title of Boutflower's rejoinder indicates that it is in the transcription of this name that he finds his all-important clue to prove that the book of Daniel may still be held to have issued from the pen of a courtier of Nebuchadrezzar.

My criticism that the indirect evidence of the Assyrian transcription of a single name was precarious testimony on which to base far-reaching conclusions as to the dialect of Damascus is countered by the production of further testimony. This comes, not indeed from Damascus, but from Ḥarrân. The same testimony is used to oppose Driver's suggestion of a deliberate alteration of the name of Hadadezer, for we have arrayed not only the names *Ata-idri*, *Au-idri*,[2] *Atar-idri*, *Bel-harran-idri*, *Ilu-idri*, *Milki-idri*, *Nashkhu-idri*, and *Si'-idri*, which appear in the Ḥarrân Census, but also *Si'-dikir*, *Si'-ahadi*, and *Nashkhu-dimri*, where no question of the

[1] *Biblical and Theological Studies by the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary*, 1912, p. 279

[2] This appears to be a misprint for *An-idri* G. R. Driver tells me that it should really be read *DINGIR-idri*, for which Johns used the old reading, *AN-idri*. Boutflower's book, unfortunately, abounds in misprints, the worst instance being the Aramaic text on p. 47, where six mistakes occur in the five short lines copied from Torrey.

avoidance of *izru* could have arisen.[1] Moreover, Aramaic evidence is adduced, from the Elephantine Papyri, in the form of the names נשכעדרי and אתעדרי. On this evidence the conclusion is built that the variation between *z* and *d* in Aramaic is not governed by the time factor, as has been supposed, but was geographical in its distribution. Boutflower appears, indeed, to have two theories, between which his mind is not clearly made up. For while sometimes he argues that from earliest times there existed in Aramaic both a dental and a sibilant dialect, the latter of which alone has left any still extant remains, save relatively late ones, at other times he argues that the dental dialect is the original type,[2] deserving alone to be called Pure Aramaic, and that wherever the *z* is found, it is the result of foreign influence. He would appear to hold that Damascus was the classic centre where this pure dialect was spoken in all its purity, though he has still been able to adduce nothing more than the foreign transcription of a single name from this district to support his view. He holds that this Pure Aramaic was spoken, however, not only at Damascus and Ḥarrân, but much more widely. His theory of the date and origin of the book of Daniel requires him to include Babylon in the area of this dental dialect. He has therefore no hesitation in doing so. The fact that the surviving examples of Aramaic from this district, down to the end of the fifth century B.C., are in disagreement with his theory he frankly admits, but discounts the admission with the assumption that they were written by scribes whose native Akkadian usage, in the class of words affected, influenced them to follow the practice of their own tongue when writing Aramaic.

He faces the fact that no ancient specimens of this Pure Aramaic have survived, but attributes this to Moslem

[1] Most of these names, together with others from Mesopotamian texts, are noted by Baumgartner in *ZAW*, N.F., IV (1927), 95.

[2] In this improbable hypothesis Boutflower was anticipated by Jahn, who claimed, in defiance of the evidence, that זי is younger than די (cf. *Die Elephantiner Papyri und die Bücher Esra-Nehemja*, 1913, pp. 18 f.).

destruction in the area where it was earliest employed. In view of the fact that no Aramaic inscriptions at all have been found in the area where he assumes the dental dialect to have been found in all its purity, he feels able to assume that had there been any they would have employed the *d*. He then claims some support by invoking the Minaean inscriptions to prove that the Arabic ذ goes back to ancient times in the Arabic group of languages, and by proceeding to hold this to be valid evidence for an ancient dialect of Aramaic employing the *d*.

He argues that the dialect of Têmâ was of the dental variety, and ascribes the fact that the inscription on the Têmâ stone uses *z* to the influence of Nabonidus and his Babylonian *entourage*, during that monarch's long residence there.

Turning to the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine, he finds that while the pronouns employ *z*, the root-words predominantly employ *d*. He concludes that a *z*-dialect and a *d*-dialect were both represented in the colony, but that the original and dominant dialect was the one employing the *d*. The fact that, even in documents which use *d*, we find *z* in the pronouns is once more laid at the door of " foreign influence ". The use of ח and ט in the Papyri, in classes of words that have ש and צ in early Aramaic inscriptions from other localities, is adduced as further evidence that the dialect of Elephantine was of the dental variety.

The theory that the presence of *z* in writings from districts that are held to have used an essentially dental dialect is due to foreign corrupting influence, Boutflower supports by the argument that the change from dental to sibilant is an easier one than that from sibilant to dental.

II

The improbability of the theory is apparent from this summary of the arguments by which it is supported. For it will be seen that it rests on *a priori* arguments, on deductions

from silence, on the dismissal of evidence, and finally on what appears to be the more solid ground of fact in the limited field of the Papyri and of the Akkadian transcription of Aramaic proper names. The full weakness of the argument will become more apparent as we examine it more closely, and we shall find that its manifest improbability will give place to the certainty of its impossibility.

It is, from the outset, clear that the theory which requires us consistently to assume that all our surviving evidence is misleading, and to be replaced by speculation as to what the character of the dialects really was, labours under serious difficulty. We are told [1] that the Babylonian and Assyrian Aramaic which has come down to us represents, not the Aramaic that was actually spoken in that area, but the Aramaic that was miswritten by Akkadian-speaking scribes. Again, we are told [2] that the Têmâ inscription discloses, not the dialect of the district as it really was, but as miswritten under the influence of Nabonidus and his court.[3] We are further told [4] that the Egyptian Papyri unfold the Aramaic of Elephantine, not as it was in itself, but as corrupted by "foreign" influence. And for the evidence as to what these dialects of Assyria and Babylonia, Têmâ and Egypt were, in their uncorrupted purity, we are offered nothing but the evidence of a few proper names from Damascus and Ḥarrân, and the rare use of *d* in the Papyri. The theory of scribal perversity reaches its climax in the assumption that when Assyrian scribes wrote Akkadian inscriptions, they preserved the true Aramaic usage in their transcription of proper names,

[1] *Dadda-'idri*, pp 14 f.

[2] Ibid., p. 15.

[3] Boutflower somewhat inconsistently says (ibid.) that the Têmâ inscription is "written in that dialect of the Aramaic which prevailed in Assyria and at Babylon", though he has claimed above that the dialect of Assyria and Babylonia was really dental, but was miswritten by Akkadian-speaking scribes. Here, as elsewhere, he does not seem quite to have made up his mind what his position is.

[4] Ibid., p. 21.

but that when Assyrian and Babylonian scribes wrote Aramaic texts they followed the usage of their native Akkadian tongue.

Nor is our confidence in the argument increased by the further assumptions by which it is supported. Where evidence exists, as in the districts just mentioned, we are asked to set it aside. Where no evidence exists, we are asked to surmise what its character would be if it did exist. Thus we are told[1] that "it may be presumed that if we had ancient inscriptions from Damascus and the neighbourhood, we should find that the dental forms די and דנה, which we meet with in the late Palmyrene and Nabatean, are no creatures of yesterday, but have an equally long descent". But no valid case can be built on silence. It is true that Boutflower offers a plausible suggestion to account for that silence, attributing the absence of testimony to deliberate Moslem destruction, but whatever the reason may be, we cannot make good the absence of evidence by surmise.

Our misgivings are still further strengthened by the irrelevant fields to which we are carried, for we are taken to Minaean and Ethiopic. We are reminded that the Minaean inscriptions prove that the ذ of Arabic goes back far in time. But no one has ever questioned or denied this. The point at issue is how ancient is the usage of ד in Aramaic, and no evidence from the Arabic group of languages can establish this. Boutflower argues[2] that because the *dh* and the *z* are both represented in ancient Semitic, the one in the Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions and the other in Akkadian, and because both are represented in modern Semitic, the one in Arabic and the other in Amharic, therefore both *d* and *z* were found in ancient Aramaic. While this is nowhere explicitly stated, its implicit assumption is the only possible justification for the introduction of this material. But the argument is a manifest *non-sequitur*. The undisputed fact that both *dh* and *z* were found in ancient *Semitic* in no way

[1] Ibid., p. 22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 24–33.

proves that there were two dialects in *Aramaic*, a dental and a sibilant, existing side by side from the earliest times. It can no more prove this for Aramaic than for Hebrew or Akkadian.

III

It may be frankly admitted, however, that the cuneiform transcription of the group of proper names, to which Boutflower has drawn fuller attention than his predecessors, does provide a real problem. It is now clear that Driver's suggestion of deliberate alteration, to avoid similarity with *izru*, is improbable. May it not be, then, that Boutflower is justified in assuming an early dental dialect for Damascus and Ḥarrân, even if the evidence is so definitely against him in transferring it to Babylon? I think not.

In the first place, it is extremely precarious to argue the character of a dialect on such slender evidence as that of a few proper names found in a foreign transcript. And so far as Damascus, the supposed classic centre of this dialect, is concerned, the evidence still consists of a single such name. Let us see to what false conclusions a similar procedure would lead us elsewhere.

In *CIS*. ii, 77, which is dated by de Vogüé in the eighth or seventh century B.C., and which comes from Assyria, we find the name הרעדר. Similarly, in *CIS*. ii, 87, we have a seal of uncertain locality, but in the Babylonian style, assigned by the same authority to the seventh or sixth century B.C., which reads שמשעדרי. It is surprising that Boutflower did not adduce these names. Since they are written in Aramaic characters, they provide much more valid evidence of the usage of the Aramaic dialect of Assyria and Babylonia than the Akkadian transcription of the name of a king of Damascus can provide of the usage of the Damascus dialect. Yet if we should conclude, on the basis of these two names, that the Aramaic of Assyria and Babylonia, from the eighth century B.C. to the sixth, was of

the dental variety, we should make a demonstrably false deduction. For the usage of the Aramaic of Assyria and Babylonia, from the ninth century B.C. until the fifth, is uniformly with *z*, save in such isolated proper names, and against even these can be set other proper names, where *z* is found. Thus, in *CIS.* ii, 43, 1, we find אמעזר, in 43, 13 f. we find עזרנאל, and in 46 בעלעזר.

Similarly, as Boutflower himself reminds us,[1] we find that cuneiform inscriptions refer to a place *Khatarikka*, which is identified with the *Hadrach* of Zech. ix, 1. While this name is probably of non-Semitic origin,[2] and therefore does not belong to the class of words under examination, we might naturally conclude that it contained a dental. For here we have two foreign transcriptions, both in languages which normally have sibilants in whole classes of words where later Aramaic has dentals, and both have the dental here. The case is therefore stronger than that of *Dadda-idri*, where a single foreign transcription with the dental is known. Yet in the only surviving Aramaic inscription which mentions the place,[3] the name appears as *Ḥazrak*, and the local dialect is shown to be one which used *z* in those words in which *d* is found to replace it in the later Aramaic writings. And since foreign evidence would here so clearly mislead us as to the name of the city, what confidence can we have that foreign evidence

[1] Ibid., p. 14.

[2] Lidzbarski conjectures that the initial consonant is of Hittite origin. Cf. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, iii, 175, n.

[3] The inscription of Zakir of Hamath. Lidzbarski (ibid., p. 6) and Dussaud (*Revue archéologique*, xi (1908), p. 229) hold that it was originally erected at Ḥazrak, though before the place of discovery was disclosed, the former had surmised the possibility that it might not have been found in the place where it originally stood (op. cit., iii, p. 175, n.). It was actually found at Afis, near Aleppo (cf. *Syria*, iii (1922), pp. 175 f.), which seems to be mentioned in the inscription (*b*, 11), and the writer in *Syria* (loc. cit.) holds that it was erected there, and not at Ḥazrak, conjecturing a second battle at Afis after the breaking of the siege of Hazrak, of which the inscription gives no indication. In any case there can be no doubt that it reveals the dialect of Ḥazrak.

can be relied on to preserve the native form of the name of the king of Damascus ?

It must be remembered that we have the same name preserved for us in Hebrew sources as הדדעזר.[1] It is true that the reference there is not to the same person, but to an earlier Aramaean king of the neighbouring state of Zobah. It is also true that since the name reaches us in a Hebrew document, we cannot be sure that it presents the true native form. But precisely the same consideration applies to the form as preserved in Assyrian documents. It should be added that we have the same name in an Aramaic form, preserved on a seal, probably of the seventh century B.C., found at Saqqara in Egypt, which reads להדדעזר.[2]

We may further note that while Boutflower has drawn attention to two proper names in the Papyri, in which *d* stands, they would provide a wholly misleading clue as to the nature of the dialect of Elephantine, even though they are found on the spot itself. For, as we shall see below, not only did that dialect in the fifth century B.C. show an overwhelming preference for *z*, but even in proper names the *d* was the less common usage.

A further illustration of the invalidity of Boutflower's method may be found in the Assyrian transcription of the names Damascus and Samaria. For the former the cuneiform texts have *Dimašķa*, and the like, and for the latter *Samerina*.[3] Since the Arabic for Damascus is دمشق, and since Arabic ش normally corresponds to Hebrew שׁ and Aramaic שׂ or ס, the Biblical Hebrew form דַּמֶּשֶׂק may be relied on to preserve the correct Aramaic sibilant, while the Akkadian form does not. In this case, however, the usage followed in the cuneiform texts agrees with that of Akkadian, which normally has *š*, corresponding to Hebrew שׁ. But in

[1] 2 Samuel viii, 3; 1 Kings xi, 23.

[2] *CIS*. ii, 124.

[3] I am indebted to G. R. Driver for drawing my attention to this point, which seems excellently to expose the invalidity of Boutflower's argument.

the case of Samaria this explanation fails. The Old Testament presents us with שֹׁמְרוֹן, and while by the normal rule the initial sibilant would appear in Arabic as س, in Akkadian it would be represented by *š*. The Akkadian transcription of this word, therefore, is out of accord with Akkadian usage in the class of words affected, and equally out of accord with Hebrew and Aramaic usage. It would be but a misleading clue, both as to the name of the capital of the Israelite kingdom and as to the character of the Hebrew dialect in the matter of sibilants. What confidence can we have, then, in the clue of *Dadda-idri* to give us either the true native name of the king or the true character of the dialect of Damascus?

It is therefore clear that we must wait until we have some much more solid evidence before we can build anything whatever on assumption as to what the character of the Damascus dialect really was.

IV

Is not the case of Ḥarrân, however, much stronger? For here we find a whole array of names standing in cuneiform with *d*. On this, two things must be said. First, that even if it were definitely proved that the dialect of Ḥarrân did employ the *d*, this would provide no proof that the dialect of either Damascus or Babylon employed the *d*. In the case of Babylon, there is direct testimony to the contrary, and while there is no direct evidence from Damascus, it is much more likely that its dialect was closely similar to the Aramaic dialects of the neighbouring Syrian states, whose inscriptions have come down to us, than that it was similar to the dialect of the more remote Ḥarrân, if that were materially different.

And second, there is nothing that can really be called evidence that in Ḥarrân a dental dialect of Aramaic was spoken so early. For while proper names may be significant of much, their evidence can only be used with extreme caution. They may reflect a variety of foreign influences, and be no evidence whatever of native usage, or they may be completely

misleading.[1] Migration and intermarriage may bring in foreign names. Thus, the names in *d* from Assyrian and Babylonian Aramaic inscriptions, and from the Papyri, tell us nothing until we know something of the persons who bore them. In the Papyri, in particular, we find so many influences reflected in the proper names that we could not affirm with any certainty that the *d* names noted were not of non-Aramaic origin, in the form in which they appear. Similarly, we can have no certainty that the *d* names found in Ḥarrân, which was a great centre of trade, were not of non-Aramaic origin.

It is a curious fact that practically all the names collected by Boutflower contain the element *-idri*. It is true that he adduces three other names, but of these, *Si'-ahadi* has no evidential value, since Johns notes[2] that the reading of the crucial syllable *-di* is quite insecure, while *Si'-dikir* is connected by Johns with the Hebrew בִּדְקַר of 1 Kings iv, 9.[3] Neither of these can, therefore, be used with any security in the present connection. Nor is the third name, *Našḫu-dimri*, much more secure. For there is no evidence that there was not a Semitic root *dmr*, beside the root *ḏmr* = *zmr*. Brockelmann, indeed, connects the Syriac ܕܡܪ, whence comes ܕܡܝܪܐ = *admirabilis*, with such a root.[4]

V

Enough has been said to demonstrate that the alleged dental dialect of Damascus and Ḥarrân is as unproved as

[1] G. R. Driver points out, for instance, that in the Old Testament the name *Uriah the Hittite* has nothing to do with the divine name Yah, with which it seems to connect, and that it is quite distinct from the genuinely Hebrew name *Uriah*, which we find borne by Hebrew persons, but is the Mitanni name *Uria*, with the common hypocoristic ending *-ia*.

[2] *Assyrian Doomsday Book*, p. 30. So insecure is the name that Johns omits it from his Glossary of Proper Names.

[3] Ibid. The reference I owe to G. R. Driver, who adds that this is perfectly legitimate, as *ki* is often substituted for *ḳi* in every period, while actually in texts from Ḥarrân we have *Adad-lu-ki-di* (ibid., No. 4, obv., iii, 13) beside *Si'-[lu]-ḳi-di* (No 6, obv, i, B 7).

[4] *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed., p. 158. The reference is again G. R. Driver's, to whom I am indebted for much of the foregoing paragraph.

it is unlikely. Nevertheless, the curious fact of these names with *-idri*, and in particular of the name *Dadda-idri*, does call for some explanation, though none that is really satisfactory has yet been propounded. G. R. Driver makes a new suggestion, however, which seems to me to be wholly probable, and permits me here to present it. It is that these names are due to Arabic influence. So far as the Ḥarrân names are concerned, he points out that one of the influences bearing on that great trading centre would be the intercourse with the Arab tribes of the desert, who spoke a dental rather than a sibilant dialect. It is not difficult to suppose that commercial intercourse should bring some settlement or intermarriage, sufficient to introduce some foreign forms of proper names, or even to corrupt the common speech, though of that we have no evidence.

But what of the name *Dadda-idri*? Here Driver suggests that the Assyrian scribes may have first learned the name from the lips of an Aramaean from Ḥarrân, or of an Arab from the desert, and have written it down as they heard it.[1] The Assyrian armies must have availed themselves of the services of guides, from whose lips they may well have first learned the names of both places and persons. And since *-idri* is so common an element of Ḥarrânian names, Hadadezer would as easily be given a dental character on the lips of a person from Ḥarrân as on those of an Arab.

It is interesting to note that the form *Samerina*, noted above, would equally well be explained by the suggestion of an Arab guide.[2] For while Assyrians, Aramaeans, and Israelites would

[1] Experience shows that when once a foreign name has secured a place in a language the inaccuracy of its spelling or pronunciation, due to the medium through which it was first learned, is seldom corrected. Thus we speak of *Peking*, though the local pronunciation is more like *Bay-jing*.

[2] There are also a number of other names in Assyrian inscriptions, e.g. *Ursalimmu* for Jerusalem, *Asdudu* for Ashdod, *Isḳaluna* for Ashkelon, and *Lakisu* for Lachish. In the earlier period, Babylonian often substituted *s* for *š*, and in the Amarna Letters we find some confusion. Thus, we there find *Lakiši* in letters from Lachish, but *Lakisu* in the letters of *Abdi-ḫiba*

hardly be expected so to pronounce the name, an Arab guide might well do so. In view, however, of the fact that we are told that in an earlier age the substitution of *s* for *š* was an Ephraimite solecism,[1] we cannot be sure that Samerina is not due to uneducated local pronunciation.

It may be asked what evidence there is of the existence of a specifically Arabic type of dialect in North Arabia so early. There are no actual North Arabic inscriptions early enough to warrant the assumption, but the South Arabian communities, which were essentially trading communities, seem to have had firm trading connections with North Arabia. Thus Margoliouth says that "the presence of Minaean inscriptions at El-'Ula in North Arabia would seem to show that their power was not confined to the South of the Peninsula",[2] while the Old Testament tells us of what was probably a commercial mission to Solomon from the Sabaeans, headed by their Queen.[3] It is to be noted, too, that when Sargon, in 715 B.C., made an attack against certain tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, the Queen of the Aribi in North Arabia, and It'amar of Saba, in South Arabia, both sent gifts to Sargon.[4] This would seem to indicate that in that age the North Arabians and the South Arabians were in close touch with one another. Further, when the North Arabians developed a script, it was derived from that of the South Arabians,[5] pointing again to the fact of much intercourse between the South Arabian communities and the North.

of Jerusalem. For Ashkelon, however, we find *Ašḳaluna*, both in *Abdi-ḫiba's* letters and elsewhere. Jerusalem is only mentioned in *Abdi-ḫiba's* letters, where *Urusalim* is found. But these names doubtless reached the Assyrian scribes by direct contact in the period of Assyrian expansion, when *š* would be the regular Assyrian usage—though surviving letters show that in the common speech *s* still stood sometimes by confusion for *š*.

[1] *Jg.* xii, 6.

[2] Hastings, *DB.* i, 133*b*.

[3] 1 Kings x, 2.

[4] *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii, 58.

[5] Lidzbarski, op. cit., ii, 27.

Moreover, the Aribi, or Arabi, are frequently mentioned in Assyrian texts. At the battle of Ḳarḳar we find Gindibu the Arabian, with 1,000 camels, and thereafter there are frequent references to these tribes in the north of Arabia.[1] That they spoke a specifically Arabic type of dialect cannot be proved, but is highly probable. For while we know little beyond some proper names of states and kings, many of them offer easy Arabic etymologies.[2]

It is true that I have argued above that proper names cannot be accepted alone as a sufficient indication of the character of a dialect, and I must beware of following an argument here which I have disallowed there. But the cases are not quite parallel. For while I have argued that the dialect of Damascus cannot be held, on the strength of a single name in foreign transcript, to be seriously different from that of the neighbouring Aramaean communities, whose dialect is known to us, and while I have argued that the proper names of Ḥarrân cannot prove a dental dialect of Aramaic to have been spoken there, and especially if these names can just as easily be traced to Arabic influence, in the case of the Aribi we have neither the evidence of neighbouring and kindred tribes to set against the suggestion that they spoke a dialect of Arabic, nor is it easy to see from what outside source names which yield an easy Arabic etymology could have reached them, to become the names, not only of persons, but of states.

But even if these names of an Arabic type among the Aribi are insufficient to establish the type of dialect spoken by the tribes, my case is sufficiently supported. For whether native to the Aribi or not, these names prove the presence in North Arabia of "Arabic" influence on proper names, and so support the possibility that the Ḥarrân names may derive

[1] Cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, 18, "Die Wüste im Westen und Süden des Zweistromlandes war schon im 9. Jahrhundert von 'Arabern' bevölkert."

[2] Cf. Margoliouth, loc. cit., p. 133*a*; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, iii, 772.

from the same influence. Whether, then, through commercial relations with the great trading communities of South Arabia, or through intercourse with the Arab tribes of North Arabia, proper names of an "Arabic" character may quite well have reached Ḥarrân, and the names *Dadda-idri* and *Samerina* may be due either to Arab guides from the desert or to the influence of the *-idri* names from Ḥarrân and of local solecism respectively.[1]

VI

Turning now to Boutflower's use of the evidence of the Papyri, we find that here he is no more convincing. He argues that while the pronouns almost invariably have *z*, the root-words generally have *d*, and that therefore the dialect was really of the dental variety. Driver and I had both argued that there was a gradually increasing use of *d* over the period of the Papyri, but this Boutflower definitely denies, maintaining that there was little, if any, change during the period.[2]

In support of this contention he divides most of the first thirty-five of the texts in Cowley's edition[3] into three groups, of nine, four, and eighteen, respectively. The first group comes from the period 495–455 B.C., the second from 447–435 B.C., and the third from 428–400 B.C. He notes that it is only in the second group that we find *d* in the pronouns. Accepting his group divisions, we find the following distribution of the alternative consonants under discussion :—

(1) In the first group we find *d 5 times*, including two proper names,[4] against *z 137 times*, including 14 proper names ;

(2) In the second group we find *d 9 times*, of which none

[1] In view of the other names mentioned in a note above, the former would seem to be the more probable hypothesis.

[2] Op. cit., p. 19.

[3] *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1923, cited below as *AP*.

[4] I have not included here the name ידניה, which I discuss in a footnote below.

are proper names, as against *z 35 times*, of which three are proper names :

(3) In the third group we find *d 8 times*,[1] including one proper name, against *z 226 times*, of which 20 are proper names.

From these figures it would appear that Boutflower is quite right, and that there was little difference between the proportions of the first and third of these periods. But when it is remembered that the Aḥiḳar Papyri may, according to Cowley, be safely dated in the latter part of the century, and that the same authority ascribed the Papyri containing an Aramaic translation of the Behistun inscription to *circa* 420 B.C., and that the proportions of *d* to *z* in the former are 17 to 84, and in the latter 10 to 44, it would appear that there is real reason to believe that the *d* was gradually becoming more established.

The figures given above will surely suggest to the impartial reader that the evidence does not favour the theory that the *d* was the essential usage of the dialect. Let us return, however, to examine the first group more closely. In the eight dated texts of the group we find the following three words written with *d*, viz., למאחד 2, 17, כדב 8, 17, and דדב 10, 9. To these must be added the two proper names נשבעדרי 2, 19, and אתעדרי 2, 20.[2] In the same documents,

[1] Here I have not included דכרן, *AP*. 34, 6, which Cowley doubtfully connects with דכר = *remember*. I should have included a reference to this word in footnote 4, on p. 20 of my *Aramaic of the Old Testament*.

[2] Leander (*Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*, 1928, p. 9) includes also the names ידניה, ידניא and יאדניה as belonging to this class. The last is miswritten (see note in *AP*. on 37, 17) for ידניה. Sachau, however, holds (*Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 1911, p. 8) that the form יאדניה points to the root אדן (cf. *BH*. אָדוֹן = *lord*), and he is followed by Ungnad. Lidzbarski rightly, in my judgment, doubts this (op cit., iii, 258), but holds, as Leander, that ידניה and יזניה are two forms of the same name, noting the former as the younger. It seems to me much more probable that ידניה connects with the root דין. In *BH*. we find the proper name יָדוֹן in Neh. iii, 7, which is certainly not

on the other hand, we find זי 50 times, זילי 5 times, זילך 7 times, זילכי twice, זיליכי twice, זילה twice, זילדי once, זנה 19 times, זך 27 times, זכי twice, זנך once, זכם once, כזי 4 times, and the proper names עזריה once, זכריה 6 times, זכור 4 times, יזן once, and יזניה twice. We thus find *d* 5 times, against *z* 137 times. If we add three further Papyri, which Cowley assigns to the same period, though they are not dated, the numbers are altered to 6 occurrences of *d*, including 3 proper names, and 155 occurrences of *z*, including 15 proper names. On the basis of these data, it can scarcely be maintained that the few examples with *d* exhibit the essential usage of the dialect in this period. And since the proportions of more than 25 to 1, including proper names, or more than 40 to 1, excluding proper names, were not maintained in the later documents, it would appear that Driver and I had some justification for the view that there was a tendency for *d* to be more used in the later texts.

Or, ignoring proportions, and looking only at the occurrences of *d* in the Papyri, we find that, apart from three proper names, there are 3 occurrences between 495 and 455 B.C., 9 occurrences between 447 and 435 B.C., 9 occurrences between 428 and 400 B.C. (including 2 in a duplicate document which Boutflower excluded from group 3, and which are therefore omitted above), 10 occurrences in the Behistun Papyri of *circa* 420 B.C., 17 occurrences in the Aḥiḳar Papyri, which belong towards the end of the century, and only 4 other occurrences in Papyri that cannot be dated, and 2 on Ostraka.

VII

We have not yet examined, however, the effort to set the root-words over against the pronouns, and the claim that it is in the former alone that the true character of the dialect

connected with אזן, but which may with every probability be connected with ידניה. Cowley does not, I believe, discuss these names, but the fact that he transliterates *Yedoniah* in the one case and *Jezaniah* in the other would seem to indicate that he does not equate the two names.

is indicated. It is perfectly true that, apart from the demonstrative and relative pronouns and conjunctions, *d* is found more frequently than *z* in the ordinary vocabulary of the Papyri, but it is also true that Boutflower has not presented a fair statement of the case. On p. 20, after referring to the third of the above-mentioned groups and the further Papyri to which no date can be assigned, and also to the Aḥiḳar and Behistun Papyri, he says: "In all these the pronominal words are written with sibilants throughout, while the root-words with scarcely an exception are written with dentals." To this he adds a footnote that "the only exceptions are זהכ (*sic*, read זהב), 39, 4, and Ahikar, line 193; and זכר Ahikar, line 53". The reader could only conclude that these were the only exceptions in all the texts to which reference has just been made. There are, however, more numerous examples, viz. זהב *AP* 30, 12. 28; 31, 11; 39, 4, Ah. 193, זכר (verb), Aḥ. 53, זכרן (noun), 32, 1. 2, 61, 1. 10, 62, No. 1, 4, 63, 10. 12. 14, 68, No. 11, 2, עזור 71, 23. In these particular Papyri, therefore, which contain 40 of the 52 occurrences of *d* that the Papyri present,[1] there are no less than 16 instances of *z* in root-words also found.

For the whole of the Papyri and Ostraka, the facts are that *d* is found in demonstratives and relatives 6 times, and in other words 48 times, whereas *z* is found in demonstratives, relatives, and conjunctions more than 650 times, and in other words 16 times.

Nor is even this a complete statement of the case. Boutflower quotes two proper names he has found with *d*, but he ignores the names in which *z* stands. Yet these again heavily preponderate. In dealing with Ḥarrân and Damascus, he would give to proper names, even in foreign transcription, determinative significance in estimating the character of the

[1] As I have collected all the occurrences of *d* in Egyptian Aramaic, with references, in my *Aramaic of the Old Testament*, pp. 20 f., it is unnecessary to do so again here.

dialect. Yet here he ignores all but the two names which seem to lend some support to his theory. We may therefore restore the balance by noting that over against three proper names which have *d*, viz. נשכעדרי *AP* 2, 19, 3, 23; 65, No. 15, אתעדרי 2, 20, and עדרי 24, 37, we may set זכריה 5, 5 and 12 times else, זכריא 22, 66. 67, זכור 10, 3 and 20 times else, עזריה 20, 6 and 7 times else, עזור 23, 8, יאזניה 52, 14. 17, אזניה 12, 8; 66, No. 8, יזן 8, 6; 25, 17, and יזניה 6, 9 and 8 times else. In the proper names, therefore, against 5 examples of *d* in three names, we are able to set a total of 60 occurrences of eight names with *z*.[1]

While, therefore, there is a predominance of 3 to 1 in favour of *d* in root-words, there is a predominance on the other side of 12 to 1 in proper names, and of more than a 100 to 1 in demonstratives, relatives, and conjunctions. And since the instances of these latter overwhelmingly outnumber the total of the proper names and the root-words, it is surely out of the question to confine attention to the root-words in determining the character of the dialect. Let it be further remembered that there is no instance of a text amongst the Papyri using *d* exclusively, but that a great number use *z* exclusively. In view of these incontestable facts, it can scarcely be disputed that the Papyri show us a dialect which is still dominantly using *z* but in which *d* is beginning to appear.

VIII

But so far we have not dealt with Boutflower's introduction of the cases of the equivalence of ת and ש, and of ט and צ in certain classes of words. Concerning these there is no dispute. While in some early Aramaic inscriptions, as e.g.

[1] It should be noted, however, that if Lidzbarski and Leander are right in the derivation of ידניה, then the 32 occurrences of that name in its various spellings would have to be added, making the figures 57 as against 60.

the Zenjirli and Nêrab inscriptions, we find ש and צ, as well as ז in the cases we have so far been considering, in the Papyri we find ת and ט, with the exception of a single word. Boutflower attaches these cases to the occurrences of ד in the Papyri to lend additional strength to his claim that these texts present us with an essentially dental dialect. Implicit in the argument is the assumption that the variations go together, and that a dialect that employed ת and ט might be presumed also to employ ד.

This assumption is invalidated by the evidence. It is true that in certain early Aramaic texts we find ש, צ, and ז uniformly employed, and that in Biblical Aramaic and late Aramaic we find ת, ט, and ד uniformly employed. But that in no sense proves that the three cases belong together, and must be found together. The introduction of the cases of ת and ט cannot make the rarer occurrences of ד in the Papyri normative for the dialect, or alter the fact that the evidence overwhelmingly proves that the usage of Egyptian Aramaic was predominantly ז. Especially strong is this conclusion when the instances of ז so greatly outnumber not alone the instances of ד but the instances of ת, ט, and ד combined.

Further, if the three dental usages and the three sibilant usages did really belong together and accompany one another, and if the dialect of Elephantine were a dental dialect infected by some foreign sibilant influence, we should be inclined to wonder how it came about that an infection which had spread so far into the field of the one dental had made so little mark in the sphere of the others.

An impartial examination of the evidence cannot fail to convince the student that Early Aramaic employed ש, צ, and ז, but that gradually these gave place to ת, ט, and ד, not, however, simultaneously. The evidence clearly indicates that the change from ז to ד was the last of the three, and that this change was in progress in the Elephantine colony in the fifth century B.C.

IX

This, however, brings us to Ernest Sibree's dictum, which Boutflower quotes in support of his theory.[1] This is that the principle of least effort favours the change of dentals to sibilants, but is adverse to the change of sibilants to dentals. But this *a priori* argument is of no value whatever, and cannot be used to set aside the concrete evidence we have to the contrary here. For, as we have abundantly seen, the *d* was gradually securing for itself a stronger position in the Papyri.

Again, in the early Babylonian and Assyrian Aramaic writings we find *z*, but *d* appears in two Mesopotamian inscriptions, the earlier of which is dated by Pognon at about 200 B.C., in one of them beside *z*. In the later Aramaic of Babylon the *d* was regularly used. Even if Boutflower were right in assuming the *d* to have been the original usage, that was ousted by Akkadian-speaking scribes, the alleged principle of least effort, if relevant, should have furthered and established the position of the *z*. That the *z* was finally driven out before the *d* is proof that the process which is set down as an *a priori* improbability did actually take place.

We may further note that while the older inscriptions from Asia Minor use *z*, the Sardis bilingual of *circa* 400 B.C. employs *d* beside the *z*.[2]

Again, in one or two of our oldest Nabataean inscriptions we find *z*, but then it disappears and gives place to *d*. Here, once more, we find the two side by side in one text.

Surely it is significant that in all our old Aramaic texts, whether they come from Egypt, Arabia, North Syria, Asia Minor, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, or India, we find *z*, and that

[1] Op. cit., p. 21.

[2] Baumgartner (*ZAW*, loc. cit., p. 95) adds a second inscription from Asia Minor which employs *d* beside *z*, given in *PSBA*. xxxv, 1913, p. 192. But this is the Cilician inscription more recently edited by Torrey in *JAOS* xxxv, 1915–17, pp. 370–4, which closer study has shown to employ only *z*.

in no less than four cases, in districts so widely separated as Elephantine, Sardis, Hassan Kef, and Nabataea, our oldest examples of *d* in these areas are found side by side with *z*. When to this it is added that in all the later Aramaic that we know *d* was the normal usage, it is clear that the only possible conclusion is that the *z* was the older usage in Aramaic and the *d* the more recent.

It is gratuitous to assume that from early times there were two different usages in Aramaic, the one pure and the other corrupted by foreign influence, of which only the latter has left any surviving early remains and only the former any late remains. It is quixotic to make this assumption when we are told that the *z* would be unlikely to give place to the *d*, and its prospect of survival would therefore be the greater. On Boutflower's principles late Aramaic ought to have been a sibilant dialect.

X

There is a further mutation to which we are referred. In certain groups of words we find a ק in our oldest Aramaic inscriptions, but an ע in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, and in all late Aramaic writing. Here it is observed that in Jer. x, 11 we find both standing side by side, and in the Papyri both usages are found, though the older usage greatly predominates Here again we find the case of the two usages standing side by side in a single text

Boutflower recognizes that the ancient inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria have ק, but seeks to rescue himself from the embarrassment of the fact that Daniel consistently uses ע by ascribing Jer. x, 11 to the reign of Jehoiakim, and by assuming that Ezra vi contains the *ipsissima verba* of an Aramaic decree issued by Cyrus. This merely begs the question. For neither of these statements can be taken for granted. Most scholars regard Jer. x, 11 as a gloss, while for the evidence that the Aramaic of Ezra is somewhat older than that of Daniel, but certainly younger

than the fifth century B.C., I can only refer to the full discussion in the work of mine against which much of Boutflower's present work is directed.

He omits to note that in the Aramaic endorsements on the documents of the Murashu Sons, which come from Babylonia and are contemporary with the Elephantine Papyri, the ק is still alone found. This would be an unpromising piece of evidence for the theory that Daniel, writing in Babylon in the sixth century B.C., used ע. The evidence which has come down to us clearly indicates that this change began in the West. It was in progress in Egypt in the fifth century B.C., but it had not yet begun in Babylonia.

The change from ק to ע and the change from ז to ד, therefore, were both in progress in Egypt in the period of the Papyri, while neither had begun in Babylonia in that age. Yet in Daniel both are completed. In both cases the earliest evidence we have of the later usage comes from Egypt,[1] and represents the newer usage securing for itself a place beside the older. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that both usages began in the West, and that even if we hold Daniel to have had its origin in Palestine we must recognize it to have been later than the Papyri, while if we wish to place its origin in Babylon it could only have been at a still later date that these two changes could have been completely carried through there.

XI

No more convincing is Boutflower's discussion of a further point he introduces. This is the question of the use of ־ם or ־ן for the termination of the pronominal suffixes of the second and third persons masculine plural. He again turns to the cognate languages to show that the ־ן is quite as old as the ־ם.[2] But once again I can only reply that the point

[1] Apart from the sporadic instances of proper names in *d*, which have been sufficiently discussed above.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 33 ff.

at issue is not how old the usage is in *Semitic* but in *Aramaic*, and that can be established only by Aramaic evidence.

Similarly, he once more assumes that the letter of Ezra vi, 6–12 was written in 520 B.C., in the precise words in which it now stands, and that the occurrence of ן once in that letter proves that the usage was known in the East in that year. He further assumes that the Palmyrene use of the ן dates from their ancient trade relations with Damascus, and that therefore the ן was the usage of Damascus. But conjecture is not proof, and there is no shadow of evidence to show either that the Damascenes used ן or that the Palmyrenes received any dialectic usage whatever from the Damascenes, or even that the Palmyrenes themselves used the ן in the days when Damascus was "the political capital of Aramaica and the centre of Aramaic culture". The earliest Palmyrene inscription we have dates from the year 9 B.C., and we have no knowledge at all of the usage of the Palmyrenes before that date.

So, too, the assumption that an *m* dialect and an *n* dialect stood side by side in ancient Aramaic is wholly unwarranted. It is based on the fact that we have the two usages side by side in the book of Ezra, even standing together in a single verse, and on the fact that there may be a few instances of ן in the Papyri. These instances are very few and very uncertain indeed. They stand in *AP* 16, 4, 34, 6. 7, 37, 4. 14; 82, 11. Sachau holds them to be feminine suffixes, and Cowley takes 16, 4 as feminine, while Driver treats 37, 14 as feminine [1] Where the evidence is so uncertain it can hardly sustain the conclusion that "it is sufficient to show the existence of an *n* dialect" in Egypt.

Even if the instances in the Papyri were certain, they would no more prove the existence of two dialects than do the instances in Ezra. For if there were two dialects, they would not both be used by the same writer within the compass of a

[1] *JRAS*, 1932, p 81.

single verse. Clearly, at the time such verse was written, there were two uses within the one dialect, and the evidence but establishes that the dialect was changing. And since in the book of Daniel we find only the *n*, we can but conclude that in this respect the dialect was no longer in the stage of transition, but that the *n* had definitely taken the place of the *m*.

The Aramaic evidence tells us that in the kingdom of Zakir and at Zenjirli in the eighth century B.C., and in Assyria in the time of Ashurbanipal, the *m* was used. It also tells us that in Egypt in the fifth century B.C. the almost, and possibly quite, invariable use was *m*. If the occasional appearances of *n* were secure, they would be the earliest definitely datable instances of the usage. The Aramaic of Ezra has both *m* and *n* freely interchanged. The Aramaic of Daniel, however, has only *n*. It is perfectly true that the Nabataean inscriptions still use *m*, but since it is known that the change from *z* to *d* reached the Nabataeans much later than it did any other district of which we have knowledge, their conservatism in this other respect occasions little wonder.

In any case, a usage whose first—and doubtful—non-Biblical occurrences belong to the fifth century B.C., yet which is found to be invariably employed in the book of Daniel, must still provide embarrassment to the view that that book dates from the sixth century B.C. And if the linguistic argument is to be allowed any weight at all, then the evidence can only point to the fact that Daniel is later than Ezra in this respect.

XII

I may take this opportunity of dealing briefly with some corrections and would-be corrections of my work that Boutflower throws into the Addenda pages at the end of his book. On p. 43 he draws attention to my error in referring to the conservative view of the book of Daniel as "more than a century" older than the oldest Papyrus, and points out

that I should have said "forty years". My error was a real one, of which I can offer no explanation. Happily, my argument is unaffected by the correction.

On the previous page he criticizes my statements about the use of ל to mark the direct object in the Papyri. He suggests that I had overlooked the example in *AP* 5, 9, and in denying my statement that the usage is found more frequently in the later Papyri than in the earlier, he remarks that I cite but one instance from the Aḥiḳar Papyri. As I professed to cite but examples, no error can be laid at my door in not quoting every instance. I had neither overlooked 5, 9, nor had I failed to find more than one instance in the Aḥiḳar texts. For examples may be found in lines 1, 48, 72, 76, 77, 118, 136, 176. Since the usage is, as Cowley notes,[1] not common in the Papyri, these eight examples, together with the ones I have quoted in the statement criticized, should be sufficient to establish the accuracy of my note that it stands more frequently in the later Papyri than in the earlier.

On the other points to which he refers, Boutflower does not question my accuracy, but endeavours to explain away the facts to which I had drawn attention. A good illustration is the case of the use of מלכא before the royal name with which it stands in apposition, in the book of Daniel. Boutflower urges that in formal and historical documents, and in humble address, the word מלכא stood after the royal name, whereas in simple narrative and intimate conversation it stood before As an example of intimate conversation he instances Dan. ii, 28. It is scarcely likely that, in the circumstances depicted in that chapter, Daniel would in his address to the monarch refer to him in an intimate fashion, or would fail to treat him with all the dignity due to his position. Nor is it clear why ii, 46, v, 9, and vi, 10 should be set down as "simple narrative", while

[1] *AP*, p. 14

iii, 1, say, should be held to require "stately and formal style". When Boutflower goes on to add that the reason we never find the word מלכא standing first in the Papyri is that they contain no passages which can be described as simple narrative or intimate conversation, he is letting his theory cause him to forget the facts. For surely the Tale of Aḥiḳar is as deserving of the name of "simple narrative" as the chapters of Daniel quoted, and we might even more reasonably expect Aḥiḳar to refer to his monarch, in private conversation with a third party, in informal terms, than Daniel to use such terms in addressing the monarch himself. Yet in lines 47, 50, 51, 53 we find the alleged formal usage.

It is interesting to observe that while Boutflower would thus discount the evidence on this point as of no significance at all for the dating of the Aramaic of Daniel, the late Archdeacon Charles claimed that on this ground alone he could definitely and decisively date it.[1] I was much more restrained in granting it significance, without attributing to it decisive significance, and I still hold that as Charles presses it much too far, so Boutflower yields it far too little.[2]

XIII

It is, therefore, manifest that Boutflower's case fails at every point. For

(1) In the complete absence of *Aramaic* evidence from Ḥarrân and Damascus, we are quite unable to determine the character of the Aramaic spoken at either;

[1] *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1929, p. ci.

[2] I here append two further corrections (1) G. R. Driver notes that Boutflower's explanation, on p 45, of the name Rîmani-Adad as "Rimmon is Adad" is mistaken. It means "Have mercy on me, Adad", the first element connecting with the Hebrew root רחם. (2) An error in my own work may be corrected. On p. 139, line 17, the word אחרי has somehow got with two words from Ezra, instead of standing in the following line with two from Daniel. This correction involves the transposition of the words "three" in line 16 and "two" in line 17, and the substitution of "three" for "four" in footnote 6

(2) Even if we could establish that character, we could not transfer it to Babylon in the teeth of the surviving evidence ;

(3) The incursions into the cognate languages cannot establish Aramaic usage ;

(4) The assumption that *d* was the original Aramaic usage requires a wholly unnatural interpretation of the evidence, and especially that of the Papyri ;

(5) The assumption that wherever *z* is found it represents foreign corruption rests on no evidence, and is supported only by an *a priori* argument which would, if valid, require the final triumph of the *z* instead of the *d* ;

(6) The assumption that no text can be trusted to determine the usage of the locality from which it emanated at the date when it was written, but that we must uniformly suppose that writers either perversely followed the custom of some other language, or revived a usage which is supposed to have been anciently used but of which we have no relevant evidence, rests on a fundamental persuasion of the invalidity of all evidence that could only make all discussion fruitless ;

(7) Since, in the three cases examined, our ancient Aramaic texts have ז, ק, and ־ם, while our later texts have ד, ע, and ־ן, and since in each case the earliest non-Biblical instance of the latter usage in Aramaic that has come down to us appears beside the former, we can only conclude that the former was really the earlier usage in Aramaic, and gradually gave place to the latter.

It is thus certain that Boutflower's theory encounters such difficulties that it has no chance of acceptance. And even if the theory were sound, it would hardly do the work for which it is created. For he tells us that his purpose is to remove one of the obstacles to the conservative view of the date and authorship of the book of Daniel. But even if, as he supposes, Damascus and Ḥarrân used a dental dialect, which was originally spoken in Babylon, but which our existing inscriptions from Babylon prove to have been corrupted by Akkadian influence, we should still be at a loss to understand

why Daniel, whose own native Hebrew was a sibilant dialect, and who found around him a sibilant dialect of Aramaic so aggressive that it imposed itself from Babylon on distant Têmâ, should restore the assumed original usage. The assumption that the so-called Pure Aramaic was spoken in Damascus in the ninth century B.C. offers no reason whatever why Daniel should have used it in Babylon in the sixth century B.C. The recognition that the book of Daniel is unrepresentative of the usage of the locality from which it is held to have emanated in the age to which it is ascribed, and in particular of the court circles in which the author is held to have moved, can hardly be held to be in itself a vindication of the age and provenance to which it is assigned.

124



Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari

By SRI RAM SHARMA

TARIKH-I-MUHAMMAD ARIF QANDAHARI is often cited as an authority in many extant works of Mughal history. Sir Henry Elliot, however, failed to secure even a fragment of the work and had to content himself with a note based on the citations in other histories. Nor did his editor Professor Dowson succeed any better. Thus the History of India as told by her own historians (vol. vi) contains a very brief note on the very sketchy information available at the time.

Fortunately a fragment of the work was discovered some years ago in the State Library of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur. Sir Jadu Nath Sarhar succeeded in getting a transcript of the MS. in question. I am very much indebted to him for allowing me to use his copy of the MS. That the MS. in question is obviously a fragment is clear from the fact that there are cross-references to a history of the reign of Humayun,[1] which, however, is missing. It is not possible to be confident as to the end. The MS. in question is the portion of the work dealing with Akbar's reign. It begins with Akbar's birth and closes with the account of a great fire at Fathpur Sikri in A.H. 987 (1579–1580). That this closes a section of the work is obvious by its ending with a prayer as is usual elsewhere in this work. It is possible that the author did not live to complete any later portions of this work, but that he intended to do so is clear from certain references in the MS.

An examination of the MS. in question reveals the fact that Muhammad Arif had attached himself to Bairam. When, in 1560, Bairam fell out with the emperor Arif accompanied him in his final march to Gujarat and was

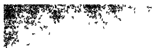
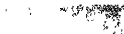
[1] p. 34.

present at his deathbed. After Bairam's death he carried out his intention of going to Mecca on a pilgrimage.[1] This done he returned to India and lived in Bihar for some time. In 1577–8 (A.H. 985) he came from Bihar and was presented to Akbar.[2] Presumably then he became an imperial servant and passed his days as a contented servant of the empire. The book seems to have been written probably before Akbar launched on his policy of toleration. Though the Jizya was remitted during the period Arif deals with, the remission finds no place in the book which represents Akbar as a devout Muslim. Probably Arif wrote his work before Akbar had time to develop his religious policy. If so, this fragment represents the last part of Arif's complete book, which ends with the year A.H. 987 (1579–1580). That the work was completed within the life time of Akbar is evident from the so frequently recurring prayers and their form. It is clear that the author did not outlive the emperor.

The following provides a detailed table of contents of the reign of Akbar dealt with in this fragment :—

[1] pp. 97–9.
[2] p. 379.

133

The Origins of the Aryan Gods

BY A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

IT is inevitable that efforts should constantly be made to arrive at results regarding the origin of the gods who appear in developed form in the Vedic literature and the Avesta. It is true that for many purposes inquiries of this kind are unimportant. It matters comparatively little for the understanding of the religion of a people to be able to trace its evolution, for what is essential is to know what views the worshippers of a defined period had of their gods, and these may be very different from the opinions to which they should logically have advanced. But it is always possible that a new theory of origins may cast some light on features of religion which remain obscure, and the many divine epithets of the Veda which are still unexplained encourage efforts at further elucidation. It is therefore not unsatisfactory that Professor Rudolph Otto should have worked in detail at his effort to clear up the picture of the Vedic pantheon by endeavouring to apply to it the speculations on the origin of religion which have attracted of late years considerable attention in their attractive presentation in *Das Heilige* and *Das Gefuhl des Uberweltlichen.*

Professor Otto naturally combats energetically the popular idea that Vedic deities owe in many cases their being to the effects produced on the minds of the people by the great phenomena of nature, such as the sun, the sky, the storm winds, and so forth. We must look to man's feelings for the explanation of the conception of the divine, and we find it in the specific and *a priori* faculty of apperception of a power which may best be termed a numen in order to avoid the misleading implications of other terms. This feeling has various characteristics[1]; it is more than mere terror, it is marked by a sense of otherness, rather than of mere wonder;

[1] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 1–15.

it is a consciousness of might, which involves respect; there is a feeling of the presence of power, which may be expressed as wrath (*manyu*), or as glowing flame; there is majesty, and victorious power, and, by a natural dualism of aspect, wrath and mercy are associated From this feeling in its various aspects it is possible to trace the development of the conception of the divine It may be within man himself. The Keśin of the *Rigveda* (x, 136) bears within himself the numen, as do such priests as the Atharvans, Angirasas, Bhrgus, and so forth.[1] Or it may be regarded as situate outside man, whether in nature or the animal world or in the world of ideas. But these are merely the occasions of the manifestation of the numen, not the causes of its existence.

Applied concretely the principle may be illustrated by the case of the Maruts.[2] They are normally regarded as the storm gods, and their character as divine is traced to the effect on the mind of early man of their enormous power and terrible characteristics. But this is a false view. Two considerations are overlooked by those who hold this belief. In the first place, men living close to nature are not likely to be so impressed by natural phenomena as to ascribe to the Maruts those characteristics of anger and fury which are assigned to them in the *Rigveda*. Secondly, the storm winds when reckoned as Maruts are thought of not merely as dreadful, but as demonic The latter character is not a result of experience, but is, in Kantian phraseology, imposed on the winds as a category *a priori*. The storm winds are reckoned demonic because man knows before he encounters them what the demonic is In the same way we are not to think that primitive man derived his belief in hostile powers from the phenomena of the cold of winter and the heat of summer, the onslaughts of disease, and the attacks of human foes; rather was he afraid of invisible demonic powers, and only later did he locate his enemies in natural events.[3]

[1] Ibid., p 82

[2] Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

[3] Ibid., pp 12, 107.

The theory, of course, is essentially *a priori*, and so evades possibility of proof or refutation. But it must be admitted to rest on very weak foundations. It is easy to refer to the sense of terror and of uncanniness which we have all felt in a wood at night,[1] but it is impossible to say whether, after the many thousands or hundreds of thousands of years that man has developed on the earth, our modern feelings even in the case of the alleged primitive savages have much in common with the feelings of those men who first evolved the conception of the divine. Again it is quite impossible for us to estimate the effect on the minds of early men of such phenomena as those of nature in India; it certainly seems natural that early tribes should see powerful divinities in such phenomena as the storm winds, or in the mighty sun. Nor is the contention that the capacity to regard a phenomenon as demonic must be *a priori* conclusive as to the operation of that capacity. Professor Otto seems too much inclined to regard the power to demonize as subjective and independent of the occasion of its application. It is as logical, arguing *a priori*, to hold that the apperception of an object as possessed of a numen is possible only because of the specific character of the object, which for some reason or other evokes in the perceiver the apperception of demonic character. That things which are strange and terrible evoke in us feelings of reverence and worship is at least as tenable a view as that we apply these feelings only secondarily to such objects.

In application to individual cases, it may be doubted if the new theory aids us to any more satisfactory views than we at present hold of the great gods of the Veda. Viṣṇu is now explained [2] not as a great nature deity, but as the sum of *viṣṇu* numina, which are characterized by the completeness with which they are immanent in the forms they assume, as contrasted with the temporary *rūpas* of Rudra. The later relations of Viṣṇu to the Tulasī plant, the Nyagrodha tree,

[1] Ibid., pp. 22–4; cf. Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i, 18; *RV* x, 146 (Araṇyānī).

[2] Ibid., pp. 83–91.

the Śālagrāma, are essentially akin to the *bhedābheda* relations of Viṣṇu to the world in the later Vaiṣṇava dogmatic. The name is to be explained by the fact that the numen slips into (*viś*) each object, or, if that etymology is dubious, the same result can be derived by adducing the root *viṣ*[1] and such terms as *yati-veṣa*, "the outer appearance of a *yati*." A *viṣṇu* is that which has as its outer appearance, for instance, the Śālagrāma. This enables us to explain the terms Nara, Narottama, and Nārāyaṇa, or Puruṣottama applied to Viṣṇu. A Nara is the numen as spirit which enters an object; a tree which is permeated by such a spirit is a *druma-nārāyaṇa*. A Narottama is that which has in the highest degree the character of a Nara, a numen. It is easy, hence, to understand the doctrine of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu, or his identification with the sacrifice, for is he not the immanent numen in the rite, the Brahman[2] itself? A natural extension of intuition by the seers, to whom we owe our theology, is the conception of Viṣṇu as the *antaryāmin*, and his close connection as the essential element with a world in which he is immanent and which, therefore, is real, and no mere *māyā*. No doubt such a view is possible, but there is plainly nothing whatever to give it a preference over the traditional doctrine of Viṣṇu; on either theory all his traits can be explained, and on the view that he is at first a nature god a much more plausible account of his origin is attainable than on the view that he is the immanent numen, found sporadically in many objects.

Varuṇa, of course, ceases to be a nature god.[3] He is born of the numinous apperception of disease in man and beast; by the dualism essentially present in such apperceptions the sender of disease is also the remover of it, and with the development of society the god becomes deeply concerned

[1] More normally the name is derived from *viṣ* "be active", used of the sun; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 109.

[2] Professor Otto connects this word with the idea of "height" as elevation, a characteristic of the numen. The sense is, however, quite uncertain.

[3] See *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*, pp. 124 ff.

with the punishment of sin and the vindication of morality. This view is supported by denial that the Aryans or the Indo-Europeans knew a sky god. We learn [1] that *dyau* means not "sky" but "god", *mahī dyaus* [2] is the forerunner of Mahādeva, and the name Ekadyū [3] means "he who reveres one god", not indeed a monotheist, but a devotee of an *iṣṭadevatā*. This is a peculiarly unsatisfactory doctrine, and the denial of an Indo-European sky god is clearly wholly unnecessary even on Professor Otto's theory. There is no reason whatever, even if that account of divine origins were sound, why the process of creating heavenly gods, which he admits went on later, should not have been completed by the period of Indo-European unity, and we would be saved the effort to explain away Dyaus. On the other hand, Apollo as Apopellōn is brought into close connection with Varuṇa,[4] an approximation which seems to have little to commend it.

In the view of Professor Otto [5] the numinous fancy of the Aryans was prone to see in the horse and the ox the presence of the divine. This in his view is the explanation of the figures of Dadhikrā and Dadhyañc, and of the Aśvins; we must lay aside any explanation of these names from natural phenomena. Dadhikrā is the stallion who brings about the production of milk in the mares. Later this figure is given the name Dadhikrāvan, no longer the horse, but a subject which possesses the horse or mare. The name is significant of the development of a numen. The numen is first apperceived in the horse, but it is more than the horse; it is not so much that the horse possesses it as that it possesses the horse, and it naturally comes to be associated with the rest of numina, finally with the Ṛta itself, the principle of natural and moral order, which is apperceived as a numen.

[1] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 31, 103–5.
[2] *RV.*, x, 133, 5. See also x, 132, 4.
[3] *RV.*, viii, 80, 10.
[4] *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*, p. 191.
[5] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 73–6. For a different view, see Keith, op. cit., pp. 189, 190; for the agent affix *-van*, see Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 177.

But the obvious objection to this history is that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that Dadhikrā and Dadhikrāvan have any difference in sense; the suffix in the latter is not *-vat*, which doubtless has a possessive sense, but *-van*, to which can hardly be ascribed any such force. Nor are the Aśvins horses in the Veda Indeed, Professor Otto traces [1] them back to the primitive yoke of cattle in which a numen is apperceived by pastoral people to exist, an idea later changed to that of steeds. The useful qualities of the Aśvins, on this view, are to be traced back to their capacity to aid man by the homely products of the ox and cow; their wondrous car is no heavenly apparition but an Apotheke; its three wheels remind us that a three-wheeled cart is an early development from the primitive two-wheeled vehicle. True Sūryā is their wife in the *Rigveda*, but that must not deceive us; it is a late idea, the product of the tendency to associate gods with the sky, though why this tendency should arise is not clearly explained. In fact, the original idea is of honey as the Ūrjānī [2] of the Aśvins, their wife, for the power of a god is hypostasized as his wife, as in the case of Śacī as the wife of Indra. The name Nāsatya is claimed at last to have the necessary explanation; it refers to the broad noses of the Indian cattle. This rather interesting conception is hardly borne out by the evidence adduced, the reference in the epic [3] to the *nāsatyam janma* as opposed to the *āṇḍajam janma* of Brahman, for that merely refers to the creation of the *śabdabrahman* by Viṣṇu who blows it out through his nose. The epic in a very late passage [4] calls the Aśvins sons of Mārtaṇḍa born by exodus through the nose of Saṃjñā, and hence called Nāsatya and Dasra. The true sense of Nāsatya is presumably "healer".

It is difficult also to accept other of the suggested meanings

[1] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp 76–81.

[2] Ibid, p. 80, *RV*, i, 119, 2 For the formation see Macdonell, op. cit., § 193

[3] *Mahābhārata*, xii, 348, 39

[4] Ibid., xiii, 150, 17.

of Vedic divine names. Rudra, of course, is a numen, and perhaps we are to see in the name, if it means "howler",[1] a reflex of the fact that, when man has consciousness of a numen, he tends to hallucinate himself into the belief that he hears a strange sound. More tempting, but unlikely, is the proposal[2] to understand *narāśaṁsa* as meaning "banning ghosts", a function which might well be ascribed to Agni, while the chief Vrātya might well be styled *nṛśaṁsatama* as "best of spirit-banners". *Vasu* and *deva*[3] alike appear as uncanny "Glutwesen" and the latter are best explained, as by the commentator on the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad* as *svadehaprabhayā dyotanavantas*. Yet there is really no conceivable ground for banishing the *devas* from connection with the sky, and that *vasu* has anything to do with flame is certainly not probable. Nor is it at all clear that the prayer to Agni[4] to destroy the *mūradevas* really means "stürmischen deva's", for the term may perfectly well mean "those who take *mūras* as their gods", on the analogy of *śiśnádeva*. That the *ḍakkhinī* of the Buddhist texts is the Vedic Dakṣiṇā as used of Uṣas is far from plausible.[5]

Professor Otto makes a fresh attempt[6] to deal with the myth of the incest of the sky god with his daughter—perhaps Uṣas, which has troubled many before him. He sees ingeniously in it the result of the misapprehension of an old Dravidian[7] conception of a bisexual being (*narīnara*), from which comes the world This being was conceived as Rudra, and Rudra is Mahādeva, which in earlier times was doubtless

[1] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p. 30.

[2] Op. cit., p. 29. The compound is held to contain *āśaṁsa*, but this is unlikely.

[3] Ibid, p 31. For *vasu* "good", see Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, i, 310.

[4] Keith, op cit., p. 75. See *RV*., vii, 104, 24, x, 87, 2, 14.

[5] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p 54, n. 1 It is not clear to what term reference is meant.

[6] Ibid., p. 57.

[7] That the idea is non-Aryan is not certain; see Keith, op. cit., pp. 619, 620. That it is old Dravidian is unproved, and that Mohenjo-daro reveals Dravidian civilization is purely speculative.

Mahādyau, and, when the heaven came to be called *dyau*,[1] this led to a fatal misinterpretation. The old myth, legitimate in the case of a bisexual being, was no longer understood; sky has no bisexual connections, and instead the meaningless legend of relations of incest with his daughter Uṣas arose. Is this explanation any more plausible than the suggestion[2] of a misunderstood nature myth? It involves far more implausibilities and large assumptions. Again, while there are traits common to Rudra and Wuotan, it is far from probable that in the epithet *drāpe* we are to see a parallel to the mantle of Wuotan wherein he envelops himself to make him invisible.[3]

The *Śatarudriya*[4] supplies Professor Otto with much of his inspiration and frequently is adduced to aid his argument. But it is plain that he under-estimates the importance of two clear facts. In the Vedic literature we have the product of a time of active religious thought and of a marked tendency to pantheistic conceptions,[5] and of a period when there was widespread belief in the existence and activity of spirits of the dead. There is nothing in the litany which cannot be explained when these facts are borne in mind, nothing which requires us to go back to the making of religion and the working of the numinous fancy of primitive man.

[1] The view (*Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p 103) that Dyaus Asura means "Gott" and "Gottherr", not "Heaven, the lord", is very implausible.

[2] The myth may be due to a confusion of the relations of Dyaus and Uṣas with those of Dyaus and Pṛthivī, cf Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p 119, Oldenberg, *SBE*, xlvi, 78, notes on *RV*., i, 71, 5; x, 61, 5–8

[3] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p 64, *TS*, iv, 5, 10, 1, *VS*, xvi, 47. The word seems to be a -i agent noun from the causative of *drā-*; cf. *kārsi* (*VS*.), Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 131 (2)

[4] Op. cit., pp. 137–149. The late character of the litany is shown by the ascription of the god, Śiva, of the epithet *śipiviṣṭa* which is clearly a style of Viṣṇu Professor Otto tries a new derivation, the numen immanent in the organ of generation (cf. *śepa*), but this has no special plausibility. The sense was probably lost even to the earliest Vedic seers.

[5] The treatment of such ideas as *tviṣi* in *AV*, vi, 38 (*Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 147–9) suggests a conscious philosophy rather than primitive thought.

An Interpolation in some MSS. of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī

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AT the end of their edition of Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (*Kāvyamālā* 69) Śivadatta and Parab print an appendix of 78 *ślokas*, which purports to be the twenty-fourth story of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati. It was not found in their MSS. but was supplied to them by T. S. Kuppūsvāmī from a Tanjore MS. Speyer in his "Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara" (*Verh. d. K. Ak. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Lett.*, N.R. viii, 5, p. 14, n. 1) says that he has "a strong presumption that this portion does not belong to the work of Kṣemendra". That such is the case can be proved conclusively.

It has not been noted, so far as I can find, that this story is nothing but an abstract of Bāṇa's Kādambarī fitted out with an introduction and a concluding riddle to make it conform to the plan of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati and inserted before the twenty-fourth story of the accepted text. The complex plot of the Kādambarī is given with much compression (so compressed, indeed, is the abstract that at times it can hardly be followed without reference to the Kādambarī itself), but with very close fidelity to the original Only one or two minor divergences in detail have been noticed. The characteristic *alaṁkāra* of the original is omitted almost entirely, as may be expected in an abstract containing only seventy-eight *ślokas*. I have been able to find only one instance where a simile of the original has been retained. This is in verse 13 of the abstract. The sage Jābāli is thus described: *abjaja ivā 'paraḥ*; in the Kādambarī (Peterson's ed., p. 43, line 20) he is said to be: *aparam iva nalināsanam.*

What we have, then, in this *pariśiṣṭa* is a compression of the Kādambarī written in *ślokas*. Schönberg, in working on Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa (*SWA.* 106, 477–504),

discovered that Kṣemendra had written a Padyakādambarī, i.e. a versification of the Kādambarī. As no MSS. of this work seem to have come to light, we must depend for our knowledge of it on the quotations which Kṣemendra himself gives in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa These are found in 3. 5, 3. 10, 4. 2, 4. 4, 5. 2, 5. 5, 5. 13, and of those quoted in full by Schönberg none are *ślokas*. Their metre is enough to show that our abstract is not the Padyakādambarī.

The question of the authenticity of the ascription of the abstract to Kṣemendra must now be treated. Internal evidence is lacking in the story itself Kṣemendra in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī was making an abstract of a work now lost, the Bṛhatkathā (whether Guṇāḍhya's work or a reworking of that work, is of no importance for our present purpose). His method of composition varied considerably in different parts of the Brhatkathāmañjarī. The Pañcatantra section was cut to the bone in the narrative, and no ornament was added. In the Vetālapañcavimśati section, on the other hand, Kṣemendra condensed less violently, though still to a considerable extent, but compensated by adorning the narrative with ornamental descriptions. The abstract of the Kādambarī shows a treatment similar to that of the Pañcatantra. Clearly, in the absence of any uniformity in Kṣemendra's handling of the Brhatkathā, no argument can be based on the way in which the Kādambarī was treated in the making of this abstract

The introductory *śloka* that was provided for the abstract sheds some light on the problem. Each story in the Vetālapañcavimśati is connected with the frame-story by a verse or several verses describing how the king returned to the tree, put the *vetāla*-inhabited corpse on his shoulder again, and set out on the road again to go to the ascetic, whereupon the *vetāla* began to tell him another story in the series. The monotony of the repetition of these events is to some extent lightened by providing a different set of verses on each occasion. There is no example in the usually accepted

text of Kṣemendra where the verses introducing one story are verbally identical with those introducing another. In most of these verses the *vetāla* utters some slight sentiment, praising the king's wisdom or attempting to dissuade him from further efforts ; these likewise are never identical in different stories. The introductory verse for story 24 of the accepted text is as follows (9. 2, 1183 ; the text I give is based on MS. materials) :—

punaḥ skandhasthitaḥ prāha nirbandho 'yaṁ mahāmate
bhuñkṣva gatvā śriyaṁ rājan no ced ekām kathāṁ śṛṇu

The verse provided for the abstract is :—

punaḥ skandhasthitaḥ prāha nirbandho 'yam aho nu te
bhuñkṣva gatvā śriyam rājan no ced ekām kathāṁ śṛṇu

This practical identity (which might prove to be absolute identity if more MSS. were used) is suspicious. It seems to imply that an interpolator, in inserting the abstract of the Kādambarī, either negligently or deliberately borrowed the introductory verse of the story which even in his completed MS. followed the abstract and had the same verse.

The MS. evidence also speaks against the authenticity of the *pariśiṣṭa*. It is found in three MSS. that I have read, viz. my GQT.[1] G is India Office Library, Burnell MS. 447, and is a copy of Tanjore Palace MS. 4880. Q, a copy of a MS. in India, is very close to G, and, though I am unable to ascertain what MS. it represents or even where the copy was made, it is evident that it and G stem from the same MS. source. T is a copy of Tanjore Palace MS. 10218 and belongs textually with two other Tanjore MSS., the copies of which I denote by R and S. This group RST is close to the group QG, and the two groups agree generally in differing from the Nepal MS. P. It seems probable, then, that the *pariśiṣṭa* was inserted (perhaps by a Tanjore scribe) in a MS. from

[1] For a fuller account of these MSS. see my article "Kṣemendra as *kavi*", *JAOS*, 53, part 2, pp. 124–143.

which G and Q stem, and found its way also into T from the former group of MSS.

Consideration of the contents of the other versions of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati clinches the argument against the authenticity of the *pariśiṣṭa*. Uhle (*AKM*, viii, 1) published an "anonyme Recension" of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati, which he recognized correctly as a prose abstract of Kṣemendra's version. This abstract agrees exactly in the subject-matter and the order of the stories with Kṣemendra's version in its accepted form. It contains no trace of the abstract of the Kādambarī. Furthermore, Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, which is based on the same Bṛhatkathā as Kṣemendra's work, in its Vetālapañcaviṁśati has nothing corresponding to this abstract. Śivadāsa's version of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati, while it differs widely from the two Bṛhatkathā versions, has no story based on the Kādambarī. The version by Jambhaladatta differs from the other versions in that it contains twenty-five stories told by the *vetāla* together with an introduction and conclusion giving the frame-story, while the other versions have only twenty-four stories told by the *vetāla*, the conclusion of the frame-story making up the total of twenty-five stories Its twenty-five stories include twenty-two stories which have their counterparts in the other versions and three stories which occur in no other version. The plot of the Kādambarī is not found in this version.[1]

We may conclude, therefore, that the *pariśiṣṭa* was no part of Kṣemendra's work. Its interpolation was undoubtedly due to the same fact which led Jambhaladatta to give the *vetāla* twenty-five stories, viz. the discrepancy between the title of the collection ("the twenty-five stories of the *vetāla*") and the fact that only twenty-four were told by the *vetāla*. The interpolated story was inserted at the most natural

[1] My thesis "Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati" (presented in 1931 at Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and not yet published) in its introduction treats this matter of the stories included in Jambhaladatta's version.

place, at the end of the twenty-third story and just before the final story to whose riddle there was no answer.

As the MSS. which I have used give a text somewhat different from that of the edition, I add it here together with textual notes. The few textual difficulties are discussed in the notes. The printed edition in general agrees with QT against G both in readings and in the inclusion of a number of lines omitted in G. At the end T and G omit the riddle, though their final verse implies it, and Q and the edition supply it.

punaḥ skandhasthitaḥ prāha nirbandho 'yam aho nu te
bhuṅkṣva gatvā śriyaṁ rājan no ced ekāṁ kathām śṛṇu 1
śrīmān vetravatītīramekhalāyām mahābhujaḥ
nagaryām vidiśākhyāyām kṣmāpatiḥ śūdrako 'bhavat 2
tasmai kadācid āsthāne caṇḍālapatiputrikā
upāyanīkṛtam ratnam dadau sarvavidam śukam 3
rājñā kṛtaphalāhāraḥ sa pṛṣṭaḥ svakathām niśi
ūce dīrghā 'sti veṇī 'va deva vindhyāṭavī bhuvaḥ 4
tasyāṁ pampāsarastīre madodāra ivo 'nnataḥ
śukakoṭinivāso 'sti jīrṇaḥ śālmalipādapaḥ 5
tasmin vṛddhaśukasyā 'haṁ jātachinnagateḥ sutaḥ
prasavakleśanirjīvajananīsnehavarjitaḥ 6
tātena dviguṇasnehāt pakṣagarbhād anujjhitaḥ
dhṛto 'ham jananīsnehāc chuṣkauṣadhiphalāmbubhiḥ 7
ekadā śabaravrātaiḥ samnipātair ivo 'tkaṭaiḥ
kānane mṛgayāyātaiḥ sarvaprāṇibhaye kṛte 8
aprāptavanyapiśitas tam samāruhya śālmalim
ekaś cakāra śabaraḥ sthaviraḥ śukasaṁkṣayam 9

1a *tataḥ skandhagataḥ* G, Q illegible ; *'yaṁ mahān hi te* Q. b *na ced* GT.
2a °*vatītīremekh*° QT, °*vatīkūlammekh*° G, °*vatīpūramekh*° ed. ; *mahī-patiḥ* ed. b *'bhavat* T ed., *'vasat* G, Q illegible.
3b *upāyanīcakāra* *'haṁ ratnaṁ sarv*° ed.
4a *sa kathām* GQ. b *bhuvi* T.
5a *madoddhata* ed. b *jīrṇaśāl*° GQ
6b °*jīvā jananī pañcatāṁ yayau* ed., °*jananīkleśavarj*° QT, °*sneha-nirjitaḥ* G.
8b *mṛgayāsaktaiḥ* ed.

tātaṁ vidhāya nirjīvam pakṣāchāditamattanum
kṣitikṣiptaiḥ śukair anyais tam ādāya jagāma saḥ 10
ahaṁ tu tālapakṣāntarlambamānatanuś cyutaḥ
nicaye jīrṇaparṇānāṁ puṇyaśeṣeṇa rakṣitaḥ 11
tataś ca tatsaraḥ snātum prāptena munisūnunā
hārītanāmnā nīto 'ham kṛpayā svatapovanam 12
jābālir janakas tasya tatrā 'bjaja ivā 'paraḥ
sa sarvān vismitaḥ prāha mām ālokya mahāmuniḥ 13
svasyai 'va karmaṇaḥ pākam snehād anubhavaty asau
śrutvai 'tan munayas taṁ ca papracchur mama ceṣṭitam 14
so 'bravīd ujjayinyākhyā purī ramyā 'sty avantiṣu
vidhātur vividhāścaryanidhānānām ivā 'vadhiḥ 15
tārāpīḍābhidhas tasyāṁ babhūvā 'vanivāsavaḥ
devī vilāsavaty asya śukanāsaś ca mantravit 16
nirapatyatayā ''rtāyāḥ patnyāḥ śokena duḥkhitaḥ
svapne 'paśyat sa tadvaktram praviśantam niśākaram 17
vilāsavaty athā ''nandam ivā 'sūta janapriyam
candrasaṁdarśanāt svapne candrāpīḍābhidham sutam 18
patnī ca śukanāsasya putram prāpa manoramā
vaiśampāyananāmānam svapnābjaprāptisūcitam 19
kumārasyā ''ptavidyasya jananyāḥ śāsanād abhūt
kanyakā patralekhākhyā tāmbūladalavāhinī 20
yauvarājyābhiṣekārdraḥ kumāraḥ so 'tha śaktimān
varṣatrayaṁ mahāsenaḥ pṛthvīm babhrāma digjayī 21
kadācid uttarāśānte mṛgayārthī cacāra saḥ
abdhijanmānam āruhya hayam indrāyudhābhidham 22
sa dṛṣṭvā kimnaradvandvam manoharatarākṛti
vegāj jighṛkṣan nā 'jñāsīl laṅghitām vipulām bhuvam 23

11a *°āntalamb°* QT, *°āntam lamb°* G.

12a *tataś ca tatsara sn°* G, *tatas tatsarasi sn°* ed., QT illegible. b *svaṁ tapovanam* GT.

13b *sarvān vismitaḥ* ed., *sarvavismitaḥ* Q, *sarvam vismitaḥ* T, *sarvavismitāḥ* G.

14b *munayaḥ sarve papr°* ed.; *papraccha* GQ.

16a *°āvanivāsavaḥ* ed., *°āvanivāsakaḥ* T, *°āvanivāsasaḥ* G, Q illegible. b *mantrakṛt* T.

19a *putraṁ . . .* 20a *°vidyasya* omitted in G. 19b *svapne 'bja°* ed.

21 is omitted in G. b *digjayī* ed., *digjayīm* Q, *diggadhīm* T.

23a *°kṛti* ed., *°kṛtim* Q, *°kṛtiḥ* TG.

tasminn araṇye dīrghādhvaśrāntaḥ kailāsabhūbhṛtaḥ
prāpā 'cchodasaraḥ pārśve sphaṭikasyandasundaram 24
āśvāsitāśvaḥ salilais tatra śuśrāva susvaram
dūrād gītadhvanim tyaktaśaṣpair ākarṇitaṁ mṛgaiḥ 25
gatvā sudūraṁ so 'paśyac caturmukhaśivālaye
kanyāṁ mūrtimatīm śambhoś cūḍācandrakalām iva 26
dṛṣṭvo 'paviṇayantīm tāṁ haraṁ tadviratau śanaiḥ
so 'pṛcchaj janmavṛttāntam nivedya svakathām puraḥ 27
sā sāmnā prāha hanso 'sti gandharvādhipatir girau
hemakūṭe sa māṁ gauryāṁ mahāśvetām ajījanat 28
saraḥ snātum idam mātrā saha samprāptayā mayā
dṛṣṭau munisutau kāntau puṇḍarīkakapiñjalau 29
puṇḍarīkaḥ sa me karṇe svakarṇād divyamañjarīm
cakāra kautukārtāyāś cittavṛttim jahāra ca 30
āhūtā chattravāhinyā tato 'ham mātur ājñayā
nā 'jñāsiṣaṁ svabhavanam prāpya kā 'ham idaṁ ca kim 31
tadīyasuhṛdā 'bhyetya manmathavyagratā tadā
tathā me kathitā tāpād yātā 'ham tatpadam yathā 32
gatvā vyasum priyam dṛṣṭvā tatrā 'ham maraṇodyatā
bhavitā priyalābhas te bhīr me 'ty uktā sudhāṁśunā 33
puṇḍarīkam gṛhītve 'ndau prayāte sakapiñjale
sthitā 'smi na sahe dāhaṁ taddhyānavratasaṁyutā 34
suhṛc citrarathākhyo 'sti gandharvendraḥ pitur mama
madirāyām priyā tasya jātā kādambarī sutā 35
tayā madduḥkhatulyatvād vivāhe niyamaḥ kṛtaḥ
tām preṣitā bodhayitum sakhī taralikā mayā 36
iti smṛtinavībhūtaśokayā kathite tayā
śrutvā saṁkrāntatatpīḍaś candrāpīḍo 'nayan niśām 37
prātar jñātvā mahāśvetā tatas taralikāgirā
atyantadurgrahām eva sakhīm citrarathātmajām 38

24a *vane tu* ed. for *araṇye*. b °*cchodam saraḥ* ed , *pārśvam* QT ; °*kasyandasund*° G, °*kasyasasund*° T, °*kasvacchasund*° ed , Q illegible.
25a *āśvāsitaś ca* G, Q illegible. b *tyaktagrāsair* ed.
27a *tatas* ed. for *haraṁ*.
28a *nāmnā* ed. for *sāmnā*.
31a °*dhāriṇyā* ed. for °*vāhinyā*.
32b *tāpād yātāhaṁ* T, *tasya gatāhaṁ* G, *yātāhatāham* Q, *tasya gatāhaṁ* ed.
33b *uktā* T, *uktvā* G ed., Q illegible.

gandharvanagarāścaryadarśanapraṇayārthinam
candrāpīḍaṁ samādāya kādambaryās padaṁ yayau 39
candrāpīḍo 'pi gandharvapure ratnagṛhe sthitām
kādambarīṁ nayanayor dadarśa pramadapradām 40
tayoḥ sakautukākūtavilokanaratotsave
manaḥ parasparapremasūtrasyūtam ivā 'bhavat 41
premodyānāt kumāro 'thā "kṛṣṭaḥ svanagarīṁ yayau
pituḥ śāsanalekhena pavanene 'va ṣaṭpadaḥ 42
tvarayā nyastasainyābdhim dṛṣṭvā prāptam sutaṁ nṛpaḥ
kiṁ vaiśampāyanaṁ tyaktvā samprāpto 'sī 'ty abhartsayat 43
paścāt sainye samāyāte tatrai 'vā 'vasthitam vane
vaiśampāyanam ākarṇya śukanāsaḥ śaśāpa tam 44
candrāpīḍaṁ prabhum tyaktvā janakam mām ca durjanaḥ
sthitas tatrai 'va pakṣī 'va śukapāṭhī śuko 'stu saḥ 45
kādambarīviyogārtaḥ suhṛdaṁ dūravartinam
candrāpīḍas tam anveṣṭuṁ prayayau śāsanāt pituḥ 46
mahāśvetāśramam prāpya sāśrudhārām adhomukhīm
vaiśampāyanavṛttāntam apṛcchat sā 'bravīc ca tam 47
āviṣṭa iva saṁśleṣam yayāce capalaḥ sa mām
śukavac cāṭukṛn nītaḥ śāpena śukatāṁ mama 48
tvaṁ mitram iti vijñāya paścān mohāndhyam āgatā
śrutvai 'tad duḥsahataraṁ candrāpīḍo 'bhavad vyasuḥ 49
kādambarī priyam śrutvā mahāśvetāśrame sthitam
sahitā 'bhyāyayau pūrvamsthitayā patralekhayā 50
vijīvitaṁ priyam dṛṣṭvā moham kādambarī yayau
indrāyudham samādāya patralekhā 'viśat saraḥ 51
tadai 'va sarasas tasmād udatiṣṭhat kapiñjalaḥ
abhyetya sa mahāśvetām prītyā pṛṣṭas tayā 'bravīt 52

41a °*kākūtāvil*° T, °*kākrośavil*° G, °*kākṛṣṭavil*° ed., Q illegible.
42a '*thāk*° T ed., '*tha k*° GQ
45b *śukas tu saḥ* ed
48b *mayā* ed for *mama*.
49a *tvam* T ed., *tvām* G, Q illegible; *āśrutā* ed. for *āgatā*.
50b *sahitābhyāyayau* ed., *sahitābhyām yayau* MSS, *pūrvamsth*° QT, *pūrvasth*° G ed.
51b *samāruhya* T
52a *tīrād* G for *tasmād*.

utkṣiptapuṇḍarīko 'sau pṛṣṭaḥ paścān mayā divi
mām uvāca śaśāṅko 'haṁ śaptas tvatsuhṛdā 'munā 53
mattulyavyathayai 'vā ''rtiṁ yāsyasy aparajanmani
mayā ca pratiśapto 'yaṁ tvam apy evam bhaviṣyasi 54
śāpāntāvadhi tasyā 'pi deham asya svamaṇḍale
madvaṅśyā hi mahāśvetā jāmātā tatpatir mama 55
śrutvā 'ham etac candroktam puṇḍarīkapitur muneḥ
śvetaketoḥ padaṁ gantum pravṛttas tatkathārpakaḥ 56
vaimānikaḥ khe vrajatā mayā vegena laṅghitaḥ
aśapan mām javodagras turaṁgas tvam bhaviṣyasi 57
tato 'ham abdhau patitaḥ kṣaṇād aśvaḥ samutthitaḥ
indrāyudhābhidhaḥ prāptaḥ candrāpīḍasya vāhatām 58
adhunā muktaśāpo 'ham gacchāmi śvetaketave
vaktum vṛttāntam ity uktvā yayau vyomnā kapiñjalaḥ 59
kādambarīm labdhasaṃjñām praveṣṭuṁ vahnim udyatām
varṣann ivā 'mṛtaṁ candraḥ provāca gaganasthitaḥ 60
tvam candrakāntaparyaṅke deham rakṣā 'sya nirvyathā
acirāt prāptajīvo 'yam bhaviṣyati patis tava 61
śrutvai 'tad gaditam khe ca saṁśayāśvāsitāśayā
candrāpīḍaśarīrasya paricaryāparā 'bhavat 62
deśam tatas taṁ sahitaḥ śukanāsena śokavān
patnyā vilāsavatyā ca tārāpīḍaḥ samāyayau 63
vaiśampāyanatām yātaḥ puṇḍarīkaḥ kṣitāv ayam
iti jābālikathitam śrutvā jātiḥ smṛtā mayā 64
kapiñjalo 'tha mām etya samāśvāsyā 'viśan nabhaḥ
mahāśvetāśramam gantum udyato 'haṁ cyutaḥ śramāt 65
baddhaś caṇḍālajālena prāptaḥ kutsitapakkaṇam
caṇḍālakanyayā tatra kṣipto 'ham hemapañjare 66

53a °*kṣiptap*° T, °*kṣiptaḥ p*° G ed , Q illegible.
54b *mayāpi* Q.
55a *tasyā* ed , *kasyā* MSS. ; *deham asya svamaṇḍale* ed , *dehamadhyasya maṇḍale* G, *dehasya . . . svamaṇḍale* T, Q illegible. b *madvaṅśajā mah*° ed.
57b *javodagram* ed., *javodattam* G ; *turagas* ed.
58b °*yudho 'ham samprāptaḥ* G.
59b *uktvā* ed., *uktā* GQ, T omits line.
62a *saṁśayāśv*° ed , *sauśayāśv*° T , *sāśvayāśv*° Q, *sītayāśv*° G. b °*caryāratā* ed.
66a *cāṇḍāla*° ed. ; °*jālena* G ed., °*jātena* Q, °*jatalena* (sic) T.

na vedmi hetunā kena devasyo 'pāyanīkṛtaḥ
śukene 'ttham kathitayā kathayā saha sā kṣapā
kṣayam yayau smayene 'va smeravismeratārakā 67
kādambarīm smaran kṣība iva rājā samīkṣya tām
papraccha prātar āhūya caṇḍālīm sā 'py uvāca tam 68
devaḥ kumudvatīkāntas tvam śamkaraśiromaṇiḥ
kādambarī virahiṇī smaryatām smarabāndhava 69
mātā 'ham puṇḍarīkasya padmā lakṣmīr asamśayam
vaiśampāyanatām yātaḥ śāpād eṣa guroḥ śukaḥ 70
adyā 'pi capalaḥ śāpabhītyā 'yam parirakṣitaḥ
prāptā caṇḍālatā rājan janasparśabhayān mayā 71
ity uktvā sā 'viśad vyoma tejaḥpiñjaritāmbarā
jīvam ca dayite smṛtvā jahatuḥ śukaśūdrakau 72
candrāpīḍaḥ kṣaṇe tasmin sahasā 'vāptajīvitaḥ
kaṇṭhe kādambarīm cakre ratnaśayyāsanotthitaḥ 73
puṇḍarīkaś ca tatkāle nirgataś candramaṇḍalāt
mahāśvetām samabhyetya cakre harṣasudhāplutām 74
hamsacitrarathāv etya gandharvādhipatī tataḥ
duhitroś cakratuḥ prītyā vivāhotsavamaṅgalam 75
kathayitve 'ti vetālaḥ papraccha vasudhādhipam
anurāgo 'dhikaḥ kasya rājann eteṣu kathyatām 76
rājā tam avadan manye candrāpīḍo 'nurāgavān
suhṛdvṛttāntam ākarṇya yasya cetas tadā 'sphuṭat 77
iti śrutvai 'va vetālo gatvā punar alambata
nṛpo 'pi tam gṛhītvā "śu prāyād atulavikramaḥ 78

68b *tām uvāca sā* ed
69b *smarabāndhava* T, *smarabāndhavā* G, *smarasundara* ed., Q illegible.
70a *padma l°* *asamśayā* ed.
72a *tejap°* ed., *°barī* G.
74a *°kāle nir°* ed, *°kālanir°* MSS
75b *°maṅgalam* ed, *°maṅgalaḥ* T, *°savam udbhute* G, Q illegible.
76 and 77 are in Q ed. only; 78b is in GT only
76a *dharaṇīpatim* ed for *vasudh°*
77a *abravin* ed. for *avadan.*
77 Q is illegible from a *drapīḍo* through b *cetas*, and reads for the end of b *tayāsphuṭam.*
78a *ity uktau vasa vet°* G.
138.

Coins of the Īlkhānīs of Persia

BY RICHARD BURN

(PLATE X)

IN 1930 the joint archæological expedition of Oxford University and the Field Museum, Chicago, examined the extensive ruins now known as Abū Sudaira, three miles south-east of the central mound at Kish. Mr Reitlinger excavated this site at his own expense. A large city was discovered, which, although it contained no traces of Accadian culture, is of interest as being in the style of the Īlkhānī rulers of Persia and Mesopotamia. This attribution is entirely confirmed by the coins found on the site, which have been placed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. They number altogether 100 (and some fragments), of which two are silver and the rest copper. Unfortunately they are in a bad state of preservation, and only about a third can be ascribed to definite rulers with some certainty. The earliest is (1) a small copper coin of the Khalīfas (wt. 32 grains, ·75″), but neither the mint nor the date can be read. Next in order is (2) a copper coin which Mr. Thorburn, who has examined part of the find, suggests may be a coin of the Seljūq ruler Kaiqubād (A.H. 616–634) (wt. 33 grains, ·85″), and the attribution, though not certain, is approximately correct so far as period is concerned.

The remaining coins which are capable of identification belong to the Īlkhānī rulers of Persia and 'Irāq. They may be classified as in the table on p. 832.

All the rulers of the regular line are represented except Gaikhātū (690–4), and Arpā and Mūsā (736). In addition there are coins of Muḥammad Khān and Sulaimān Khān, two of the later puppets set up by rival generals.

The history of the Mongol rulers of Persia and 'Irāq is well-known. In the middle of the twelfth century some of their troops had been called in by the ruler of Khwārazm to help in his rebellion against Sanjar, the last great Seljūq

king, but the dynasty of Khwārazm was short-lived and fell before the savage raids of its former helpers. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century Chingiz Khān devastated northern Persia. It was his grandson Hūlāgū Khān who returned south of the Oxus in 1256 and pursued his career of conquest and devastation through Persia and 'Irāq, sacking Baghdād and putting to death the Caliph, and sustaining no check till 1260, when he was defeated in Syria by the Mamelukes of Egypt.

Date of reign A.H.		AR	Æ
654	Hūlāgū		1
663	Abāqā [1]		4
680	Aḥmad	1	
683–690	Arghūn		2
694	Bāīdū		1
694	Ghāzān Maḥmūd		2
703	Ūljāītū		7
716	Abū Sa'īd		10
736	Muḥammad Khān	1	1
740	Sulaimān Khān		1
	Doubtful		4
		2	33

The dynasty of Īlkhānīs thus founded acknowledged the supremacy of the great Khān and lasted nearly 100 years before rival generals began to set up puppet rulers and divide the land. Though the Mongols were pagan, Chingiz Khān had been tolerant of both Christianity and Islam, and the coins of these rulers even before Aḥmad, third of the line, became a Muslim, bear the *kalimā*. And although their massacres were almost incredibly brutal, they selected from the survivors men of talent as their ministers and patronized learning in all its existing branches. Their coins are thus not without

[1] Names are transliterated from the coin inscriptions; literary forms sometimes vary.

taste, and except for those which bear inscriptions in Mongol character, are usually inscribed in Arabic. They present a great variety of types, and the influence of the Persian ministers who served the Īlkhānīs is marked by the Shi'a formulas used.

In a few years after the death of Abu Sa'īd, five minor dynasties ruled in Persia and 'Irāq till thirty years later Tīmūr swept all away.

As all the later coins which can be deciphered belong to the Īlkhānīs, it is reasonable to suppose that they were deposited soon after the latest dates of the rulers whose names are found on them. Muḥammad Khān was killed in 738, and Sulaimān, who married Sātī Beg, usurped power in 740. The find was thus probably buried between 1340 and 1350.

Ten of the coins show the place of mintage. Five were struck at Baghdād, three at Ḥilla, one at Sultānia, and one at Sultānia or Shīrāz. From the fact that most of these coins were struck in the neighbourhood it may be inferred that Abū Sudaira was a place of small importance with little trade.

While the coins add nothing to the political history of the dynasty, they are valuable in extending the knowledge of its numismatic importance. The silver coin of Aḥmad, with Mongol inscription, is not represented in the British Museum, which also has no copper coins from the Baghdād mint of Hulāgū, Bāīdū, and Abū Sa'īd. The same mint is found here on the silver coin of Muḥammad Khān resembling B.M.C. 280, the mint name on which is obscure. While the Persian title of *pādishāh* or *bādshāh* was hitherto known only on coins of Abāqā and Arghūn, it now appears to have been borne by Ghāzān Maḥmūd also. Other matters are noted in the descriptions of the coins which follow.

Weights have been shown in grains and size in decimals of an inch. The coins of this series in the British Museum have not been weighed, and most specimens in this find are in such poor condition that it is not safe to base on them the scheme adopted by these rulers.

3. Hūlāgū

654–663

Baghdād. Date doubtful.

. . . . .	Kalima in pentagon.
هولاگو الخان(ن)	Margin illegible.
بغداد	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	Æ. Wt. 59. ·85.
Margin illegible.	

The last two lines on the obverse may read ست و خمسين و ست مايه, but this is doubtful. The coins differ from B.M.C. No. 38.

4–7. Abāqā

663–680

Date and mint illegible. Rectangular.

بادشاه	محمد
عالم ايل(خان)	رسول الله
الا عظم	. . . .
اباقا خلد	Margin ?
Margin ?	Rect. Æ. Wt. 76. ·8 × ·7.
	69. ·8 × ·8.
	62. ·75 × ·75.
	60. ·8 × ·75.

Three similar coins are almost defaced, but one has صلى الله عليه below the Kalima. Cf B.M.C. No. 58. A fourth (wt. 65, ·9) has [اقا]ن and باد. Coins of a rectangular shape are not mentioned in B.M.C., but No. 27 (*b*), p. 25, of the Constantinople Catalogue (A.H. 1318) is of this form.

8. Aḥmad

680–3

In Mongol characters—
Khaghana
(? d)arugha
Aḥmadu
deledkeguluk
sen.
Margin illegible.

الله
لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
وسلمه

Margin illegible.
Æ. Wt. 32. ·9.

This silver coin of Aḥmad, first read by Mr. Thorburn, appears to be unique. [Pl. X, 8.]

9. Arghūn

No mint or date.

In Mongol letters—
Khaganu
darugha
Arghunu
deledkeguluk
ارغون

Margin ?

الله
لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
و سلمه

Æ. Wt. 67½. ·9.
[Pl. X, obverse.]

The inscription on obverse is identical with that of a number of silver coins (cf. B.M.C. 60), but the name ارغون does not appear in Arabic letters in the only copper coin with Mongol inscription in the B.M. (No 80).

10

Mongol inscription.

? Kalima in centre.
Margin illegible.
Æ. Wt. 58. ·9.

11. BĀĪDŪ

694

Mint Baghdād. Date ?

In Mongol characters—
Khaganu
darugha (minister)
Baduin
deledkeguluk

بايدو

Kalima in circle.
Margin. . . . بغداد . . .
Æ. Wt. 57. ·85. [Pl. X, 11.]

Cf. B.M. 88*a*, which has no mint.

12–13. GHĀZĀN MAḤMŪD

694–703

Mint and date illegible.

بادشاه غارن (?)
السلطان الا عظم
غزان محمود

Kalima (? in pentagon).
Right صلى
Above الله
Left عليه
Below وسلمه

Two specimens. Æ. Wt 61, 60. ·8, ·9. [Pl. X, 13.]

The words الله الملك, which appear on most of the copper coins of Ghāzān Maḥmūd in B.M.C , are not visible. The title بادشاه, which is clear, is used there only on coins of Abāghā, but Tiesenhausen notes that it also occurs on a coin of Arghūn (Collection of General Komaroff, p. 27), and No. 82 (p. 59), Constantinople catalogue, records it on a coin of Ghāzān Maḥmūd. The name appears to read غزان instead of غازان.

14. ŪLJĀĪTŪ

703–716

Mint Shīrāz or Sulṭāniya.

In frame of uncertain shape.	In circle.
ملكه ?	. . . . .
اولجايتو	عد
. . . . .	ليه
خلد الله	. . . . .
Margin illegible.	Margin illegible.
	Æ. Wt 26½. ·8.

Below the word عدليه on reverse is the letter س or ش followed by other letters, which may be part of Sulṭāniya or Shīrāz. The type differs from B.M. 165 and 170.

15

Mint and date illegible.

In octagon with curved sides.	Kalima and below.
. . . .	على ولى الله
. . . . .	
. . . غياث الدنيا	Æ. Wt. 51. ·9.
والدين اولجايتو سلطا	
خلد الله ملكه	

Cf. B.M.C. Add. 156*p*, p. 106.

16

Mint and date illegible.

In circle surrounded by dots.	In square.
اولجايتو	لا اله الا
محمد السلطان (?)	الله محمد
Lion passant to right.	رسول الله
	Margin illegible.
	Æ. Wt. 38. ·9.

17

Mint and date illegible.

اولجايتو سر(؟)

(؟) محمد خلد الله ملكه (؟)

Lion to left. Setting sun above.

Cf. B.M. 162.

Kalima in square.
Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 23. ·8.

18

No mint or date.

In small circle, lion passant to left.

Margin (read from outside) in bold letters . . . خدا بنده . . .

Not in B.M.

In small circle, sun radiate.
Margin as on obverse

. . . ابو بكر عمر . . .

Æ. Wt. 29. ·75. [Pl. X, 18.]

19

In quatrefoil.

السلطان

الاعظم غياث الدنيا

والدين . . .

. . . . .

Margin ?

? Kalima in area.
Margin ?

Æ. Wt. 31. ·9.

Mr. Thorburn suggests that the third line contains the name اولجايتو.

20

Mint and date illegible.

In quatrefoil.

. . . . . .

. . اولجايتو

. . . خلد ملكه

Sun radiate.

Margin ?

Kalima in square.

Æ. Wt. 29. ·8.

Mr. Thorburn reads the obverse doubtfully as ابو سعيد, but the name اولجايتو seems clear. The first word of the third line may be سلطان.

21. Abū Sa'īd

716–736

Baghdād, [7]3(?)1.

In waved lozenge.	Illegible.
. . . . .	
الا عظم .	
سلطان . .	
بغداد	
ضرب	
Margin . . . احد و ثلثين . . .	Æ. Wt. 57. ·95. [Pl. X, 21, obverse.]

Not in B.M. catalogue.

22

Baghdād. No date.

Figure of bird or animal under arch.	Kalima in circle.
	سنه
Margin.	Above . . . ح
ضرب بغداد السلطان	Right و سلمه
الا (عظم ?) ابو سعيد . . .	Æ. Wt. 46. 1.

This coin has probably been double struck, but the original impression cannot be deciphered.

23–5

Mint Ḥilla (?). Date (?).

In octagon	Solomon's seal.
ضرب	In centre الله
السلطان الاعظم[1]	على ولى
ابو سعيد بهادر	In angles Kalima.
خان خلد ملكه	Æ., Wt. 48. ·95.
	37. ·9.
حله	44. ·9.
Margin ?	[Pl. X, 23.]

26

Mint ? Date 732 (?1).

In small circle. Inscription in two lines, very doubtful. The second line begins with . . . ص, which might stand for . . ص in ضرب, in which case the first line would be a mint name, بغداد or همدان, or it may be . . . خ, the initial letter of خان, and the first line would be ابو سعيد.	In curved pentagon الله محمد رسول Margin . . . ابو بكر و عمرو . . .
Margin سنه اثنين و ثلثين . و سبعمايه.	Æ. Wt. 18. ·8.

Mr. Thorburn reads احدى for اثنين and there is ground for either reading.

[1] This line is clear on one coin. Ḥilla is known as a silver and copper mint of Uljāitū, but is new for Abū Sa'īd.

27

Mint ? Date 7 x x.

In wavy circle.

السلطان

ابو سعيد

Below lion passant to right.

Kalima in square.

Above ضرب.

Right وسبعميه

Æ. Wt. 31. ·9.

In B.M.C. the only copper coins of Abū Sa'īd with a lion (Nos. 264–5) show lion to left, not to right.

28

No mint. Date 7 x x.

السلطان

ابو سعيد

Lion to right. Star below.

Kalima in square.

Above ضرب.

Right سبعميه

Æ. Wt. 46. ·9.

[Pl. X, 28.]

Not in B.M.C.

29

. . [1]

ابو سعيد

. . .

الله

رسول محمد

?

Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 26. ·7.

30

No mint or date.

In ornamented octagon.

السلطان

ابو سعيد

خلد ملكه

Kalima in square within outer circle.

In upper segment ابو بكر.

Æ. Wt. 43. ·85.

A broken coin. Reading of obverse uncertain, but the coin resembles B.M. 274.

[1] Mr. Thorburn suggests السلطان الا عظم. The type appears to be unpublished.

31. MUHAMMAD KHĀN

736–8

Baghdād. 738.

In scalloped border with six loops, enclosed in circle, surrounded by dots.	In scalloped border without loops, in circle, surrounded by dots.
فی سنه	۱۴۳
السلطان العالم	الله
محمد خلد الله	لا اله الا
ملکه و دولته	محمد
۷۳۸	رسول الله
	عثمان

Æ. Wt. 20½. ·75. [Pl. X.]

Cf. B.M. 280, the mint on which, however, is not legible.

32

Mint illegible. (7)38.

In circle of dots.	In small circle.
سنه	الله
السلطان	لا اله الا
المظفر محمد	محمد
خلد (ملکه ؟)	رسول الله
. . . . . .	Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 28½. ·75. [Pl. X.]

There is no coin resembling this in B.M.C., and the *laqab* المظفر is not found on coins in the B.M., which present only العالم and العادل for Muhammad Khan.

33. Sulaimān Khān

743–4

In circle (سـ)لطا ن سليمًا	In small circle. Bird. (? Peacock to right.)
Margin ?	Margin . . . محمد رسول . . .
	Æ. Wt. 18½. ·6. [Pl. X.]

Not in B.M.

34. Anonymous

Mint Sulṭāniya. No date.

In circle, surrounded by dots, enclosed in double plain circle with another circle of dots outside. سلط انيه	Kalima in Kūfī. Æ. Wt. 5. ·75. [Pl. X, 34.]

There is no coin like this in B.M.C. It has no trace of the name of a king or date. Kūfī letters are found on coins of Abū Sa'īd, cf. B.M.C. No. 173.

35. ?

No mint. Date [6]87 [? 9].

In circle: Goose to left with head turned back over body.	Illegible.
Margin و (or تسع) سبع . . . : . . (عا(بين	Æ. Wt. 18. ·55. [Pl. X, 35, obv.]

36. ?

Kalima.	Kalima.
Margin illegible.	Margin illegible.
	Æ. Wt. 35. ·9.

The coin has the appearance of being double struck.

37. ?

Centre illegible.	Centre illegible.
Margin بعداد	Margin میه . .
	Æ. A quarter of a coin.




8




11




13



9 OBVERSE



28




18



21 OBVERSE



28




23




31




32




33




34



35 OBVERSE

[*To face p* 844.

Specimen of a Khambu Dialect from Dilpa,[1] Nepāl

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

THE language specimen here reproduced was brought in to me while in the Darjeeling neighbourhood in 1931, having been taken down in the recently revived Limbu alphabet by an educated Limbu, by name Iman Singha Chemjong,[2] direct from the dictation of the speaker himself. Though pressure of work on other languages of the "pronominalized" group prevented my seeing the actual speaker, who was off in another part of the hills, there is no difficulty in placing the dialect with its nearest relatives in the *Linguistic Survey*. It is, without doubt, a form of Rūngchhēnbūng, and a near relative of Wāling. To the former the *Linguistic Survey* was able to devote, through lack of material, only some two pages,[3] to the latter, for the same reason about a page and a half,[4] no specimen being available in either case. I, therefore, give what follows as a small supplement to our knowledge of this little-known form of speech.[5]

[1] Village about 7 miles WNW. of Bhojpur, in the Tahsil of Bhojpur (No. 4, East). See Vansittart, "Gurkhās" (*Handbooks for the Indian Army*), Calcutta, 1915, p. 207 (and 190).

[2] I am indebted to this same young man for much information of a linguistic nature, both upon his own language and upon others of the Eastern Nepal area. I found him a most careful worker. The present specimen was first taken down in the Limbu script only, then again, independently, in this same script with an interlinear English translation Then the two versions in the Limbu script were collated, corrected, and checked over again with the original speaker as to the meaning, the whole being then rewritten, checked once more, and finally brought in to me. We then went over it together, clearing up any doubtful points.

[3] Vol iii, pt. i, pp. 360–1.

[4] Vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 357–8.

[5] The only original material dealing with what the *Linguistic Survey* terms the "Minor Khambu Dialects", among which that under discussion belongs, is that published by B. H. Hodgson, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxvi (1857), then in his *Miscellaneous Essays*

Parable of the Prodigal Son

Ak° ma-nā ha-bāṅ a-čā-si yūn-ṅā-ṅā-či. A-čā
One man (of) two sons were Son

si-bī-rī-pā-ā a-pā lō "ā-pō, aṅ-kā dyĕm-ṭōk-ṅā
younger father (to) said "O father, my share

aṅ-kā pū-ăn-nā". A-čū pā-ā yăṅ-ča dyĕm-yăn-ṅā
me give". His father wealth shares into

hā-kū-pa-či. A-čā sī-bī-rī-pā-ā k̓ō-sō a-b̓ā-gā[1] *k̓ū-yū-kī*
divided. Son younger his share taking

mā-hī-ḍā k̓ā-rā. K̓ō-ṛăn-kā k̓ō-tĕn-ḍā ǰūwā[2] *mē-ṭā-kī*
far off went. That country in gamble playing

a-yăṅ-ča ǰā-rā-kē-sū K̓ō-răn-kā mō-kō ṭĕn-ḍā
his wealth threw away. That (time) that country in

san-săk-wā lū-wā. Mō-kō ma-nā sā-ā sū-ā-kī mō-kō
famine occurred. That man hunger feeling that

ṭĕn-ḍā ṭō-păn k̓im-ḍā čā lak-tā-si k̓ā-rā.
country (of) big house at food to work and beg went.

Mō-kō k̓im-ḍā-ō ṭō-păn ma-nā-ā mō-kō ma-nā băk čā-ī-sī
That house of big man that man pigs to feed

čŭt-tū. Băk čăn-tā-nā-lō sā-ā mĕṭ-ṭū-kī mō-kō ma-nā-ā
sent. Swine feeding while hunger suffering that man

băk čā čā-mā mīṭ-tăn-čin. Nĕn-kī băk hăn-mā-nā-kā
pig's food to eat wished But pig's owner of

kū-sā-kī čā-mā mā yē-rū. K̓ŏn-kī mō-kō ma-nā mīṭ-ṭăn-čin
afraid being to eat not could. Then that man thought

Relating to Indian Subjects, vol. i, pp. 176–215. Rūngchhĕnbūng is briefly dealt with in both of these Building upon Hodgson, W. W. Hunter gave vocabularies in his *Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia*, London, 1868, and in the *LSI.*, vol iii, pt i, pp 340–373, is a brief consideration of these dialects based on the same source Other than this, no materials seem to be available

[1] N भाग् *bhāg*

[2] N जुवा *juwā*

am-pā-ō ḱim-ḍā kōk čā-mā kē-b́ăk°-ṅā ṭōk°-ṅā ;
my father's house in rice to eat much find (I) shall

aṅ-kā ō-ḍā sa-mā mū-ṅā-nā. Hĕn-lō aṅ-kā pŭk°-ṅā
I here starvation (of) dying am. Now I arise will

lōn-nā-kī am-pō-ō ḱim-ḍā ḱăṭ°-ṅā. Nĕn-kī
run away will (and) my father's house (to) go will. Then

lōn "ā-pō aṅ-kā ăm-kō bū-sĭt pāp [1]
say I (will) "O father I thee before sin

mū-wăn, nī-nā-mā bū-sĭt pāp [1] *mū-wăn,*
have committed, God before sin have committed,

an-kā ăm-čā ō-ī-sō mā ăn ; aṅ-kā ăm-kō
I thy son so to be called not am (I), me thy

čŭt°-mā čā mū-wăn-nā". Ōn mĭṭ-ṭăn-čin-kī mō-kō ma-nā
separated son make". This thinking that man

pū-wā lōn-ṭā-kī ū-pā ū-ḍā ḱā-rā. Ū-pā-ā ū-čā-ā
arose running his father towards went. His father his son

ḱăn-nō ṭōk-ṭū-kī lăm-sū ḱăṭ-ṭū-kī hĕp-tū-lā-wa
coming seeing road in going (him) embraced (and)

nŭn-nū-mā lăk-ṭū-mā mĕṭ-tū. Ḱōn-kī mō-kō ma-nā-ā
joyfully kissed did. Then that man

ū-pā-ā ḱăn mĕṭ-ṭū dŭm "ā-pō an-kā ăm-kō
his father (to) coming did said "O father I thee

bū-sĭt pāp [1] *mū-wăṅ, nī-nā-mā bū-sĭt pāp* [1]
before sin have committed, God before sin

mū-wăn, an-kā ăm-čā ō-ī-sō mā ăn. An-kā
have committed, I thy son so to be called not am. Me

ăm-kō čŭt°-mā čā mū-wăn-nā." Nĕn-kī ū-pā-ā arū [2]
thy separated son make." But his father other

[1] N. पाप् *pāp* [2] N. आरु *aru.*

naukar[1]*-či lō-či "a-nyăk*[2] *ṭiṭ° tā-rā-nŭm-kī hŭm*
servants asked "new clothes bringing put

mĕ-tā-nŭm, čū-kū-sī-mā-ḍā čōk-ī-mā wā-tā-nŭm, a-lăn-ḍā
upon (him), finger on ring put, feet on

juttā[3] *pū-wā-nŭm, čū-ō pĭt°-čā sē-rā-nŭm. Kōn-kī čam*
shoes put, (and) fat calf kill. Then eat(ing)

dū-mŭm-kī nŭn-nū-mā mŭn-nē, dā-nā-kī ō-kō an-čā
drinking merry let (us) be, because this my son

mā-sā ō lā-sā-tā sā-ā ō kōn-ṭā-kī-ṭā".
lost who (was) come (back has), dead who (was) is saved".

Kō-bĕn tŭp-sŭn čā rā-pā-kā-ḍā yŭn-ăn-yăn.
That time (at) elder son field in was.

A-năm-pak kim-ḍā lā-sā-nā-lō kim čak-ḍā ṭā-lō
Evening (in) house to coming while house near from

Kim-ḍā čā-mā lū-wā lăk-mā lū-wā ē-nū. Mō-sā-ā
house in singing sounds dancing sounds (he) heard. He

ak-ṭā naukar[4] *bū-ṭū-kī "Dī-mū-mū-yăn kim-ḍā yăn-mā-kī"*
one servant calling "Happening house in what (is)"

sē-nū. Naukar[4]*-ā yan-nā "Ăm-nī čā tā-yŭn-čā,*
asked. Servant replied "Thy brother come having,

ăm-pā-ā čū-ō pĭt°-čā sē-rū-kī čā-mā dŭn-mā
thy father fat calf killed having eating drinking

mū-mū-yăn". Ō-kō dŭm ē-nū-kī a-čā tŭp-sŭn
merry-making (is)". These words hearing son elder

kăk° nī-nā rū-ā. Kim-ḍā kăṭ°-mā čŭn-ṭā. A-pā
very angry became. House into to go refused. Father

lăm-sū bā-ṭū-kī lĕm-tū sōn-ṭū. Nĕn-kī a-čā
road in come having (him) enter (to) entreated. Then son

[1] N. नोकर् *naukar*.
[2] N. नया *nayā* ?
[3] N. जुत्ता *juttā*.
[4] N. नोकर् *naukar*.

ťŭp-sŭṅ-ā yaṅ-ṅā "Kā-nō! aṅ-kā ōn-ṭā-lō ǩā-nā-nĕn
elder said "Behold! I so long thee with

yū-nā-nā ăm-kō ăm-dŭm dī-čăṅ an-kā nā-rak măn
staying (while) thy commands I never not

mō-yŭk-ṅā. Kā-nā an-kā yā-wā kăk-čā-čī ak°-nī
disobeyed. (Yet) thou my friends (with)

yak-ā-čā mū-wā-nĭn yăn-mā-kī ak-ṭăk° pĭt°-čā čū-ō-čăṅ măn
merriment to make even one calf fat not

pat°-yŭk°-nā. Nĕn-kī ō-kō ăm-čā sip-pā ha-sō yăn-ča
gavest (me). But this thy son all wealth

*čū-mū-kī tā-yŭn *ā. Kā-nā ǩō-sō nī-nī-ḍā pĭt°-čā čū-ō*
finished having come has. Thou him for calf fat

sē-rū-kī nŭn-nū-mā ta-mū-yĕn". Nĕn-kī a-pā-ā
killed having merry are making". Then (the) father

yaṅ-nā "Ťŭp-sŭn-pā an-kā-ā mŭṅ-kū yăṅ-čā ha-sōn čā-sōn
said "Elder son (the) me owned wealth all

ăm-kō nā. Nŭn-nū-mā ǩăn-nū-mā mĕt-tĭn čĭn-nē.
thine is. To be glad rejoicing making good (it) is.

Ḍē-nā mō-lōk ō-kō ăm-nī čā mā-sā-sū ō
Because this thy brother lost who (was)

lā-sā-kā sā-ā ō ǩōn-ṭā-kī-ṭā."
come (back has) (and) dead who (was) is saved."

For comparison with allied dialects on which such observations are offered in the *Linguistic Survey* (vol. i, pt. i), the following may be gathered from the above.

Pronunciation

The language possesses so-called "checked" finals corresponding exactly to the same sounds heard in dialectical Tibetan. They are here written *k°* and *t°*. The following occur: In *k°*: *ak°* "one", *ak-ṭăk°* "one", *dyĕm-ṭōk°-nā* "share", *kē-b'ăk°-ṅā* "much", *ṭōk°-ṅā* "find (I can)", *kăk°* "very", *pŭk°-nā*

"arise (I will)", *măn pat°-yŭk°-ṅā* "not gavest (thou me)". In *t°* (in addition to the last example):—*čŭt°-mā* "separated", *ṭiṭ°* "clothes", *pŭt°-čā* "calf", *kăṭ°-mā* "to go", and *kăṭ°-nā* "go (I will)".

The Indian cerebrals *ṭ* (ट), *ḍ* (ड), and *ṛ* (ड़) occur, but it is doubtful if they are original to the language. Probably they have crept in from Nepālī. The same is probably true of the aspirated sonants *j̆* (N. झ) and *b̆* (N. भ), as also (except in the case of prefixes) of the indeterminate vowel here written *a*[1] (as in "America"), the Nepālī अ. Further than this it only remains to observe that *ă* represents the sound of *a* in German *Mann*, not that of *a* in English *pan*.

Prefixes

These occur with substantives and are of two kinds:—(*a*) pronominal, (*b*) non-pronominal

(*a*) The pronominal prefixes are of the following forms:—1st person *an-*, as in *an-čā* "my son", and *am-*, as in *am-pā*, *am-pō* "my father". The latter form is probably for *aṅ-* under influence of following *p*, but the specimen gives us nothing definite to decide the point. Second person *ăm-*, as *ăm-čā* "thy son", *ăm-pā* "thy father". Third person *ū-*, as *ū-pā* "his father", *ū-čā* "his son", and *a-*, as in *a-yăn-ča* "his wealth". In the case of the 3rd person we seem to meet with *ū* used as an independent element in the sense of "him" (accusative) in *ū-pā ū-ḍā* "his father him towards".

(*b*) As a non-pronominal prefix of no apparent meaning we have *a-* in:—*a-lăn* "foot", *a-năm-pak* "evening", *a-čā* "son", *a-pā* "father". Certain Nepālī words taken into the language also appear to be provided with this element, as

[1] *ma nā* "man" is thus probably for *mī(-nā)* in agreement with Thāmi *mī*, Tibetan *mi*, etc. There appears, in fact, to be some tendency for *a* and *ĭ*, or *i*, to interchange, for within the dialect here under consideration we have both *aṅ-kā* and *ĭṅ-kā* "I", and in Limbu both *aṅ-gā* (*LSI.*) and *ĭṅ-gā*, the latter being the more usual according to my informants. In this case the vowel, whether *a* or *ĭ* is probably a meaningless prefix, the original pronoun having been **ṅā*, or some such monosyllable

a-b'ā-gā (N. भाग् *bhāg*) "share", *a-nyăk* (N. नया *nayā?*) "new". It is probable that this prefix corresponds to Tibetan non-pronominal ཨ *'a-*[1]. Before vocatives there appears to be a distinct prefix *ā-*, as in *ā-pŏ* "O father".

SUBSTANTIVES

Gender does not seem to be specially marked, though the materials are insufficient to establish the point.

Number, which, theoretically, in this language takes three forms—singular, dual, and plural—is largely unindicated. As against the unmarked singular, however, the dual sometimes suffixes *-sī*, as in *ha-bān a-čā-sī* "two sons". The plural in the specimen seems to be unindicated, the substantive standing in singular form. Thus *bāk* is "pig", or "pigs", *ṭiṭ°* "clothing" or "clothes", *a-lăn* "foot" or "feet", *jūttā* "shoe" or "shoes". This is probably due to the fact that number is also indicated in the verb, and a dual or plural verb still makes its meaning clear even if the substantive is loosely used in the singular. It is probable that in *ū-pā-ā* . . . *naukar-čī lō-čī* "his father . . . the servants asked", the system is logically worked out in the dual *-čī*, in which both verb and object stand. This, however, is not at the moment certain.

Case relations are fairly regularly shown. Both nominative and instrumental appear to suffix *-ā*, as *a-čū pā-ā* . . . *hā-kū-pa-čī* "his father . . . divided (the wealth)", *a-čā ťŭp-sŭn-ā yan-nā* "the elder son said". Elsewhere, no suffix is employed for these cases:—*ťŭp-sŭn čā rā-pā-ǩā-ḍā yŭn-ăn-yăn* "the elder son was in the field", *ǩā-nā* . . . *nŭn-nū-mā ta-mū-yĕn* "thou . . . art making merry".

The locative takes *-ḍā*, as in *mŏ-kō ṭĕn-ḍā* "that country in", *a-lăṅ-ḍā* "feet upon", *ǩĭm-ḍā* "house in".

[1] See the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, § 60 (p. 69), and § 64 (for Kachin), § 103 (for the Bōdō and Nāgā languages), §§ 185–6 (for Kuki-Chin), and § 216 (for Burmese).

The accusative appears to stand unmarked :—*mō-kō ma-nā . . . ćŭṭ-ṭū* "that man . . . (he) sent", *naukar bū-ṭū-kī* "calling a servant".

The genitive is built upon the locative in *-ḍā* by adding *-ō*. *mō-kō k̇im-ḍā-ō ṭō-păṅ ma-nā* "that house of, the big man (i.e. owner)", or is constructed with *-ō* alone :—*am-pā-ō k̇im* "my father's house". Elsewhere the genitive is by position only—probably the oldest form : *pĭṭ°-ćā* "calf" (lit. "cow's offspring"), *an-kā dyĕm-ṭōk-nā* "my share".

The dative either stands unmarked, like the accusative, as in .—*aṅ-kā pū-ăn-nā* "(to) me give", *a-ćā . . . a-pā lō* "the son . . . (to) the father said", or takes the locative suffix *-ḍā* :—*am-pō-ō k̇im-ḍā k̇ăṭ°-nā* "my father's house to go (I will)".

Other relations are expressed by means of various suffixes : *-sū* "on", "in," as in *lăm-sū* "in the road"; *-nĕn* "with", as in *k̇ā-nā-nĕn* "thee with", etc.

Adjectives

Adjectives can either follow or precede their substantives .—*pĭṭ°-ćā ćū-ō* "calf fat", *a-ćā sī-bī-rī-pā* "son younger", or *ťŭp-sŭn ćā* "elder son", *ṭō-păn k̇im* "big house". Where the suffix *-ō* occurs, as in the first example, it is probable that we have to do with a relative clause in which a verb is understood (*v inf.*)

Numerals

The present materials give us very little information on these. We have, however, *ak°*, *ak-ṭā*, and *ak-ṭăk°* "one", and *ha-bān* "two". The presence, or otherwise, of suffixed generic particles cannot be determined from the specimen. We may surmise the former existence of a numeral for "two" approaching closely to Bāhing *nĭk-sī*, Dūngmāli *hī-ćī*, Limbu *nĕ-ćī*, etc., from the dual suffix *-sī*, *-ćī*. But this no longer appears to function independently in the language.

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are as follows :—

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Prefixed Form	Other Possessive Forms
1st person .	*aṅ-kā* [1]	*aṅ-kā-čā*	*aṅ-kăn-kā* [2]	*aṅ-, am-*	
2nd person	*k̆ā-nā* *ăm-kō*	*k̆ā-nā-čī*	*k̆ā-năn-čī* [3]	*ăm-*	*ăm-nī*
3rd person .	*mō-kō*	*mō-kō-čī*	*mō-kō-čī* [4]	*ū-, a-*	*a-čū* *k̆ō-sō*

The demonstrative pronouns are :—*ō-kō* "this", *mō-kō* "that". The first element of *ō-kō* can function independently, as in *ō-ḍā* "here" (lit. "this at"). It can also form relative clauses (*v. inf.*).

Demonstratives precede their substantives :—*mō-kō ma-nā* "that man", *mō-kō ṭĕn-ḍā* "that country in", *ō-kō ăm-čā* "this thy son".

VERBS [5]

The verb in this language, as in those related to it, should theoretically run through three numbers—singular, dual,

[1] *iṅ-kā* is said to be an alternative form

[2] Exclusive form (*v.* Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, i, p 184)

[3] Hodgson (*loc. cit.*) gives *k̆ā-nā-nin* or *k̆ā-nā nā* The form here given looks like a dual. This is probably the case, as duals function very frequently in related languages where plurals should properly be employed.

[4] *Sic !* Properly a dual form. Hodgson (*loc cit*) has no plural for the 3rd person, remarking that the "third pronoun, like nouns, transfers sign of number to adjective or verb". Cf *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 287, where in Limbu "the dual and the plural of the third person have the same form", both being duals in *-čī*.

[5] In the remarks that follow I shall have occasion at times to draw upon two non-objective verb conjugations obtained from the same source as the specimen. As their analysis would take more space than at present seems advisable, without in any great degree illuminating the verb types in the specimen, I am holding them over for some future time. Examples adduced here, but not found in the specimen, are consequently to be referred to that source.

and plural—for both subject and object. In practice, however, only a fraction of the forms involved appear to be used.

There appear to be no particular elements in the verb indicating singular or plural number, but in the dual we meet with *-čī*.[1] This may indicate a split in the verbal action either at the subjective or objective end—a dual act, that is, at one of its termini. Naturally, when the dual act involves both subject and object, the same element is introduced, but once only for the two. In the specimen above we have the following :— (*a*) Dual subject, *ha-bān a-čā-sī yŭn-ṅā-ṅā-čī* " two sons were " ; (*b*) Dual object, *a-čū pā-ā yăṅ-ča dyĕm-yăn-ṅā hā-kū-pa-čī* " his father wealth (two) shares into divided ". It is possible, also, that *-sī* may indicate dual purpose in *lak-tā-sī* " (to) work and beg ". This form, however, is not entirely clear to me, as it appears from *bāk čā-ī-sī*, " for the purpose of feeding the pigs ", that *-sī* may indicate infinitive of purpose.

The occurrence of elements indicating the subject and object following the verb root is a matter of some doubt, particularly in the case of the former. In the imperative, however, the 1st person object seems to be infixed as *-ăn-* in *an-kā pū-ăn-nā* " (to) me give ", *aṅ-kā . . . mū-wăn-nā* " me . . . make ". In the finite verb the occurrence of such suffixes is a matter of more uncertainty. Such a form as *mū-nā-nā* " dying (I) am ", appears likely to contain a first personal element, but this is negatived by such a case as *yŭn-ṅā-nā-čī* " they two were ". The whole matter needs more light than the writer can at the moment throw upon it.

The verb substantive appears to be (1) *yŭn*, or *yū*, as in *mō-kō yŭn* " he is ", *yŭn-ăn-yăn* " (he) was ", *an-kā yū-nā* " I am ", *mō-kō yū-nā* " he was ". (2) *nā* which appears to function as a suffix irrespective of time (past, present, or future), in, e g., *mū-ṅā-nā* " dying (I) am ", *ṭōk°-nā* " find (I) shall ", *ya-nā* " (he) replied ".

[1] Evidently from the same old word for " two " as that mentioned above under numerals.

It seems impossible from the material to positively identify any elements of a temporal nature.

The imperative termination appears to be *-nā*, as in *aṅ-kā pū-ăṅ-nā* "(to) me give", *mū-wăn-nā* "make (thou me)". When addressing three or more persons *-ā-nŭm* is suffixed, a euphonic consonant intervening between it and the preceding root. Thus *hŭm mĕt-tā-nŭm* "put ye (clothes on him)", *wā-tā-nŭm* "put ye (a ring upon his finger)", *pū-wā-nŭm* "put ye (shoes upon his feet)", *sē-rā-nŭm* "kill ye (a calf)".

The simple infinitive takes the suffix *-mā*, as *čā-mā* "to eat", *kāṭ°-mā* "to go". An infinitive of purpose seems to be formed in *-ī-sī* :—*bāk čā-ī-sī* "for the purpose of feeding the pigs".

The first of two verbs appears to be treated as a species of conjunctive participle, and is provided with the suffix *-kī* :—*kū-yū-kī* . . . *kā-rā* "taking (it) . . . (he) went", *ǰū-wā mē-ṭā-kī* . . . *ǰā-rā-kē-sū* "(in) gambling . . . (he) threw away (his wealth)", *kū-sā-kī čā-mā mā yē-rū* "being afraid, to eat he was not able".

The negative verb takes *mā* "not", before it :—*mā ăṅ* "not am (I)", *čā-mā mā yē-rū* "to eat not was able". In other cases this becomes *măn* :—*kā-nā* . . . *măn pat°-yŭk°-nā* "thou . . . gavest (me) not".

WORD ORDER, RELATIVE PRONOUN, ETC.

The position of the adjective has already been discussed. The demonstrative pronoun precedes its substantive :—*ō-kō ăm-čā* "this thy son", *mō-kō ma-nā* "that man". This position of the demonstrative, and that of the adjective when preceding its substantive, is evidently due to Nepālī influence.

The demonstrative *ō*, mentioned under pronouns, following a word functions in a relative sense :—*ō-kō ăm-nī čā mā-sā-sū ō* . . . *sā-ā ō* "this thy brother who (*ō*) was lost . . . (and) who (*ō*) was dead". It is the equivalent of other suffixes with the meaning of "the one who", "that which", in other

Tibeto-Burman languages,[1] and thus parallels Tibetan *-ba*, as, e.g., in *čū-ō* " fat ", T. *ťso-ba*. In such cases as this last, it stands in more intimate relation to the preceding word, and has practically lost any actual meaning of its own, just as has likewise the Tibetan suffix.

[1] See *Morphology*, §§ 105–6, and p. 25, n. 1

Notes on Sumerian Etymology and Syntax

By S. LANGDON

I

Šandanaku " Gardener "

VON SODEN, *Die Akkadischen Synonymenlisten*, 1, iii, 7, has [lu]gal-nu-giš-šar = *šá-an-da-na-ku*, after [lu]nu-giš-šar = *nu-ka-ri-bu* " gardener ". VAT. 9558 Rev. i, 23 has (ša-an-dan) = *šá-an-da-na-ku*, after nu-giš-šar = *nu-karibu*. Meissner, *Beiträge*, i, 85, n. 77 is to be corrected. This is not *šandabakku* " librarian ". šá-an-da-na-ak *kirî ṣi-ḫa-ti* " The gardener of the garden of desires ", Ebeling, KAR. 158, p. 274, 35. So correct JRAS. 1921, 188, 35; Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge*, i, 3, p. 24, 35. The early form is GAL-NI (sa-an-ta-na) = *sandanaku*, RA. 21, 178, ii, 15; earliest occurrence *Dél-Per*. 14, 121, No. 88, ii, 1, where Legrain fixed the meaning. *GAL-NI*, CT. 10, 49, 12247, 5–6; RA. 21, 24, No. 26, 5; YOS. i, 12, iii, 4 (early text); ZA. 29, 79; VS. 16, 85, 8–12; 118, 6; Reissner, TU. 12, iv, 6; other references, p. 10. See Dossin, RA. 21, 182. Strass, *Warka*, 48, 10. *GAL-KAK* only in late texts, YOS. vi, 10, 11; i, 45, ii, 27; JRAS. 1917, 724, 20; Strass, *Nbk*. 22, 12; 72, 14; Sidney Smith, *Senecherib*, l. 54. *KAK* is, therefore, an error for *NI*. [See also Landsberger, ZA. 41, 189.]

II

É-SAL (*áma, ame, âm*) = *maštaku*

The original sign for *maštaku* " chamber, room, sanctuary ", is , amá, CT. 15, 8, 4; 15, 24; 12; Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 1, iv, 2 *amá-kalam-ma-ka* = iv, 28. Var. (ama) kalam-ma = *maštak mātu*, CT. 17, 33, 8. CT. 11, 28 A 31 has another

false variant [cuneiform] (âm) = *maštaku*, Sgl. B[1], for which the Assur text VAT. 9715 Rev. ii, 15 has [cuneiform] (âm), Meissner, *Beiträge*, ii, p. 82, n. 1. The form [cuneiform] glossed [a]-me = *maštaku*, Poebel, PBS. v, 106, Rev. 16. This form I shall designate as *áma*.

At Lagash in the Lugalanda period [cuneiform] has been interpreted by Allotte de la Fuÿe, RA. 7, 143; 9, 143, as "house of the woman", i.e. house of the wife of the patesi. Now it is certain that ama, amá = *maštaku* is usually used for the chamber of the mother goddess in one of her temples. So Reisner, SBH. 14, 7 = Langdon, SBP. 74 = *Babyl. Lit.*, p. 36; CT. 15, 8, 4; 15, 24, 12; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 19; E-ulmaš amá-zu-[ta], OECT. vi, 37, 7. ama-na pi-el-lá-na = *maštaki-šu* [sic !] *ša ulte'u*, Her (Ishtar's) sanctuary which has been defiled, Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 9, 13. See for *amá* as Ishtar's sanctuary, SBH. 97, 67; 113, 22; 116, No. 61, Rev. 6.

It would be strange if É-SAL = *maštaku* of the syllabary is not the same as É-SAL at Lagash. Cf. *é E-SAL gan é É-SAL-ka* [d]*Ba-ú* egír-ba "The temple of the sanctuary, the field of the temple of the sanctuary, Bau its lady", Th.-Dangin, SAK 50, ix, 12–13. Hence read *é-áma gan é-áma-ka*. In AJSL. 33, 197, 241, [cuneiform] (a-ma) = *maštaku*, and l. 242, R (gloss broken away) = *bîtu rapšu*. With *é-áma-ka* cf. é-amá-na-ka = *ina bit maštaki-ša*, SBP. 32, 22, where "house of her chamber" refers to the temple of Ishtar in which her harlots dwelled.

amá = *maštaku* in Ebeling, KAR. 97, 8 refers to the sanctuary of Ninurta, and to Enlil, 16, Rev. 7. In view of the connexion between É-SAL and Bau at Lagash, and the constant use of *amá*, *ama*, for the sanctuary and temple of Ishtar, it is probable that *áma* at Lagash actually refers to the temple of Bau. I know of no passage where this regular meaning of É-SAL, E × SAL, is not suitable.

III

THE SIGN BU-DOUBLED CRISS-CROSS

VAT. 9711 Obv. i, 9 = Meissner, *Beiträge*, ii, 86, 25, has a sign called *si-ir-min-na-bi gi-lim-mu-u*, i.e. [cuneiform] doubled criss-cross. This is not the sign SAI. 689, discussed in PSBA. 1914, 105, but [cuneiform] RA. 15, 107. In VAT. 9711, the copy placed at my disposal by Howardy, has giš [cuneiform] ([u]-nu) = *udugu* "weapon", loan-word from giš- [cuneiform] (ú-dug) = *kakku*, MAG., iv, iii, 3, 10, 241; glossed also *ši-ta* = *kakku*, l. 243. In VAT. 9711, i, 10–11, two ideograms glossed *ú-nu* = *udugu*, Meissner, ibid., ll. 26–7. Then follow [cuneiform] and [cuneiform], both probably explained by [*udugu*]. Now the gloss on these signs is read *lid-da* by Meissner, and Howardy's copy also has *lid-da*. Since one of these ideograms, giš- MAL, is regularly read *ši-ta* = *kakku*, it is altogether probable that [cuneiform] is really [cuneiform], and *ši-da* is a variant of *ši-ta*. *lid* is a Semitic value of this sign and not expected in a Sumerian word.

IV

sìg-úz = *šarti enzi* "fleece of a she-goat"; also *šartu* "hair of humans". Meissner, SAI. 8266, entered CT. 14, 9, Rev. 14 as (*ši-ir-ti*) *amel* sìg-úz, apparently taking it for a title; sìg-úz is rendered *šar-ti en-zi* "fleece of a she-goat", RA. 14, 10, 31. This is certain from Poebel, PBS. v, 132 Obv. ii, 14 and Rm. 609 Rev. iii, 3 (RA. 14, 11), [*šar-*]*ti en-zi*. The natural rendering of CT. 14, Rev. 14, is *ši-ir-ti amēli šarti enzi* "Hair (?) of man, fleece of a she goat". I do not understand the Sumerian, ? -AL-NITAḪ.

On the other hand [cuneiform] (sìg + úz) seems to be a confusion for [cuneiform] (munšúb) = *šartu*. See the Babylonian form in Clay, YOS. i, 53, 187 = 35, 5, 22. So in KAR. 94 Obv. 9, commentary on *Maḳlû* i, 132, sìg + úz *imlišu* where the passage in *Maḳlû* has sìg-mu *imlusu*, i.e. *šarti* "my hair". Same passage, KAR. 80, Obv. 32, *šar-ta imlušu*,

"they plucked the hair"; also on duplicate RA. 26, 21; *šar-ti im-lu-šù*, Gray, *Shamash*, Pl. v, 19. It is, therefore, uncertain whether *šartu* or *šarti enzi* (not *šipât enzi*) is the reading in *Šhurpu* v–vi, 103 + 110.

Since sìg + úz = *munšúb* is it possible that ^amêl^sìg + úz in CT. 14, 9, Rev. 14 = *gallabu* "barber"? Cf. kuš-munšúb = *gallabu*, CT. 19, 30, K. 4580, Rev. 9, and SU (mu-zí-ir)-munšub = *šabsû* "barber", RA. 17, 169, K. 11196, 5. Hence *ši-ir-ti gallabi* ? in CT. 14, 9. See also sìg + uz *irti-šu* "hair of his breast" and R *kap-pa la-te-šu* "hair of the 'wings' of his cheeks", KAR 307, Obv. 13; R *su-ḫa-ti-šu* "hair of his *suḫātu*", l. 7.

V

ARÛTU "relatives, relations"

King, *Boundary Stones*, 6, 20, *šaplanu a-ru-ta-šu mê kaṣûti aį ušamḫir*, was rendered by Steinmetzer, OLZ. 1920, 149, "Beneath in his nakedness may he (Shamash) not provide him with fresh water". But Poebel, PBS. v, 102, Obv. iv, 4–8, has PAP (pa) = *rabû*, *ašaridu*, *a-ru-ú-tum*, *ra-a-du*, *abûm*. The general sense of pap, pa(p) is "male relative". *rādu* = *ra-du* = *ma-ar* "son", ii Raw. 30, No. 3, 2, is the same word as *rīdu*, *rēdu* "heir", apparently for *rādi'u* > *rādu*. It is, therefore, obvious that *arûtu* means "relatives" and the passage in King's *Boundary Stones* means "Beneath may (Shamash) not cause his relatives to receive cool water", i.e. in the lower world. *i-na a-ru-ti irṣi-tim mê* [*kaṣûti* . . .], Ebeling, KAR. 184, p. 42, 48, "among the relatives in the lower world [cool] waters . . " Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 82, n. *b*), approximately right *Geistern* "spirits". Another word is a-rá = *a-ru-tū-um* "counting, multiplication", Poebel, PBS. v, 148, 19, or read *a-ru-û-um*, loan-word. The derivation of *arûtu* is unknown to me. A prayer to the ghosts of a family has, *a-na a-ru-ti-ku-nu mê ka-ṣu-ti lu-uš-ḳí*,[1]

[1] *Tod und Leben*, p. 132, 50, unpublished var. *luk-ḳi* (*naḳû*) "I will offer".

"I will give cool water to your relations to drink", **KAR.** 227, Rev. iii, 23.

VI

UKKIN-ŠUB "a title"

[cuneiform] -*RU* is usually employed as a title of Nannar, the Moon-god. ᵈ Ukken(en)-RU, CT. 24, 30, iv, 8; Var. 18, 12, ᵈ UKKIN (un-ki-en) without RU; also Schroeder, KAV. 51 Obv. 20 and CT. 25, 32, 9. [ᵈ·ukken](en)-RU = ᵈ Sin *ša ud-da-zal-lá*,[1] i.e. ukken-RU explained by "Sin of the morning light", CT. 24, 39, 21. The phrase, therefore, seems to mean "He that brings light to the hosts of mankind", taking RU as *sub*, *šub* = *ellu, kuppuru, mašāšu*. If so, then *ukkin-šub* is a title of Sin as the new moon, first light of the moon, hence, by analogy with the sun's morning light, explained by *uddazalla*.

These texts make it certain that *ukkin*, early sign Thureau-Dangin, REC. 389, is the reading. REC. 389 and 386 [cuneiform], [cuneiform] are so similar that the early scribes confused them.[2] Gadd-Legrain, *Ur Excav.* 139, i, 6, among titles of Nannar, has *nun ukkin* (REC. 386) *-šub me-ni* a-ri-eš kalag = *rubû munammir puḫri ša parṣê-šu ana tanâdâti šûkuru* "Prince, who brings light to the hosts (of mankind), whose decrees are made precious unto adoration". The sign here is, certainly, *ukkin* not *gâl* (REC. 386), although the editors say that a variant has [cuneiform]. Already in PSBA. 1918, 72, 31, I had identified the sign and the title in early texts with *ukkin-šub* of the late texts; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 199, i, 31; ii, 9 has REC. 386; here *ukkin-šub* in both passages is a title of Anu; in ii, 9 = PSBA. 1918, 74, 9, *ukkin-šub-gal*. Both Zimmern[3] and Witzel[4] in their editions of this text read

[1] Here apparently as a verb = *nummuru* "cause to shine"; *CT.* 16, 42, 14. Or *namirûtu* "morning"; *CT.* 12, 48 A 7.

[2] See Deimel, *Sum. Lex.*, pp. 91–2.

[3] "König Lipit-Ishtar's Vergöttlichung": *Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft*, vol. lxviii, 5 (1916), appeared after my edition in 1918.

[4] *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, 5 (1925), appeared seven years after my edition, with reference to Zimmern only.

dingir uru(ru) "The god of the city", for my *An ukkin-šub*. Now it is clear from *Ur Excav.* 139, compared with CT. 24, 30, iv. 8, etc., title of Nannar, that this sign in *Kultlieder*, 199, is intended for *ukkin*.

Also Chiera, *Crozer*, 12, 9, has a passage concerning Nergal.[1] *ᵈ Nergal ama ila ukkin-šub ǵuš-gùr-ru gal-gar ár-ri-eš-kalag* (= *ᵈ Nergal gapšu šaḳû munammir puḫri malû rašubbâti rab-kâri*[2] *ša ana tanâdâti šûḳuru*) "Nergal, the huge, the lofty, bringer of light to the hosts (of mankind), full of terror, the great one of the wall, he who is held precious unto adoration". Here the sign is not *uru* but *ukkin*, although written REC. 386.

Hence *ukkin-šub* originally a title of the moon at its monthly new birth, i.e. during its period of darkness. For this reason the moon as a deity in the under world is Nergal, and the title is then applied to him. Note that the Cassite title of Nergal, *šu-ga-mu-na* is also *Nusku* "god of the new moon", Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 25, 13.

If Anu has the title *ukkin-šub* in *Kultlieder*, i, 31; and *ukkin-šub-gal* of the gods ii, 9, that is because Sin the moon was identified with *ᵈ A-num* on the 30th of the month. See IV Raw. 33, iv, 1, 30th day *šá ᵈ A-num ᵈ Enlil*, also 33*, iii, 44. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 166, gave a rendering of *Crozer*, 12, 9 which in view of the parallel passages was almost completely erroneous. A parallel passage addressed to Ninegal proves that *ukkin* is the sign in question here; JRAS. 1926, 680, 6–7, *nir-gál ukkin-na dúg-ga-ni igi-šú gín* "Exalted whose word among the hosts (of mankind) is pre-eminent".

[1] The moon during its period of eclipse was identified with Nergal, *mêlultu* of Nergal. See IV Raw. 33*, iii, 25, 27th day, *me-lul-ta šá ᵈ Nergal*, so also 33, iii, 30 33, iii, 33, 28th day, *bubbulu šá ᵈ Nergal* (i.e. eclipse of the moon). Cf Landsberger, *Kultkalender*, 141.

[2] *gal-gar*, cf. same title *kár-gal an-ki*, ibid., l. 2. *gar* for *kár*. See K. 4396, iii, 25 in *Babyloniaca*, vii, 96, *amêl gal-ka-a-ri* "great one of the wall", wall inspector *amêl gal-kár* of Opis, Strass., *Nbk.* 365, 14. As title of Nergal the "great one of the wall" refers to this god as keeper of the mythological wall of heaven and earth.

The confusion of *ukkin* with *uru* Brünnow, No. 888 = REC. 358, and *úru*, Br. 940 = RA. 21, 98, ii, 14, is due to the fact that *uru-šub*, *úru-šub* "the desolated city" actually occur in liturgical texts. [cuneiform] in late texts is really a confusion of two signs REC. 359 and an early form [cuneiform] (x). *úru* (REC. 359)-*šub-ba*, PBS. x^4, Pl. 73, 7; but *uru* (REC. 358) -*šub-a*, OECT. i, Pl. 45, 18 = Radau, *Miscel.* 8, 19; see OECT. i, 58, 18. But *úru* (sign x) -*šub*, Radau, *Miscel.* 13, v, 7; BE. 29, 1, iv, 19. *úru* (Br. 940) -*šub-mu*, iv Raw. 11, B 49. *ukkin* (REC. 389) is actually written with sign x (= *úru*) in some passages, e.g. *Crozer*, 12, 9.

VII

Postfixed ge, ka = kima

The postfix *ge*, *ka*, commonly regarded as suffixes of the Sumerian genitive in direct and oblique cases (*Sumerian Grammar*, §§ 131–6) [1] is also used for *gim* > *gi* > *ge* = *kima* "like, as, after the manner of, in capacity of" (*beth essentiae*). *gim* > *gi-e* = *ki-i-mu* (= *kima*, PSBA. 1908, 82, 13) is proved by AJSL. 36, 158, 27. *dág-gi*, Var. *dág-gim* (*kima šubti*), as (her) seat, JRAS. 1926, 36, 25; *má-an-na-ge*, Var. *gim*; *ú bàn-da-ge*, Var. *gim*, OECT. i, 52, 26–7 = Chiera, *Crozer*, 16, 13–14. Here *ge* seems to be a simple phonetic syllable for *gim* and not the genitive suffix. *ka* = *kima* is used in *a-ab-ba-ka*, Var. *gim*, AJSL. 39, 170, 14. See also *kun-bi a-ab-ba-ka* (*n*)*i-lal* "Its reservoir he made like the sea", RA. 6, 79, 14. Here *ka* is surely the oblique genitive *a-ab-ba-ka* "waters of the sea", used in an adverbial sense, § 134, precisely as is the oblique ending *a* (also used for genitive

[1] Thureau-Dangin, RA. 8, 88, regards *k* and *g* as inorganic letters introduced between the genitive inflection *a* and the nominative ending *e*, oblique *a*. Hence *a-e* > *age*, *a-a* > *aka*. This purely phonetic explanation is difficult to understand. Why should the Sumerians choose *g*, *k* to separate these vowels and why then is the intervocalic glide *ʝ* used normally in *a-a* > *aʝʝa* (§ 38, 2), or why should *ma-e* "I" not become *mage*?

§ 78) in *ab-šág-ga mu-na-ni-lal*, Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 46, Cones B, C, ii, 13. It must be assumed then that the ending *a* has the modal adverbial sense "like" corresponding to *kima* and the Accadian ending *-iš*. I conclude that *ge* = *kima* is not the genitive *ge*, but that *ka* = *kima* is the oblique genitive *ka*. In this connexion more light is thrown on this point by the passage, Reissner, SBH. 80, 19–25. A good many variants of these lines rectify my edition in SBP. 132–4. Here SBH. 80, 19–25 = A; SBH. 92ᵇ, 26–34 = B; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 25, iii, 40–46 = C; ibid., 7, Obv. 16–22 = D; SBH. 66, 19–32 = E.

Lines numbered from A.

19. bád [1]-si ba-ra-gul tu [2]-(ġu)-bi ám-nigin-ni [3]

19ᵇ. *ša bît si-is-su it-ta-bat su-um-ma-tu-šú iṣ-ṣa-nun-dù* [4]
Of the temple its dove cote is destroyed, its doves scatter.

20. ᵐᵘˢkà-na-bi ba-ra-si-il [5] ki [6]-ŭ-di-ba [7] ba-an-gul.[8]

20ᵇ. [*bâb-šu iš-ša-*]*al-laṭ a-šar tab-ra-tu-šu it-ta-bat.*
Its gate is shattered, the place of its observation (*ziggurat*) is destroyed.

21. ᵐᵘˢúr-bi mu-lu ù-mun [9] ġub [10]-ba-gim û-dé [11] ba-ku-ku-ga [12]

[1] B 26, *é-bád*

[2] C 40, *uz* "duck", hence *bád-si*, *si-bad* = *sîtu* "dove-cote and duck-pen".

[3] E 19, *e*.

[4] This line on B, D

[5] D, *si-ig*.

[6] C, D, omit

[7] C, D, *bi*. D, *ŭ-di ba-gul*

[8] E has another text, [*ki*] ŭ-di la-ba-an-tuk = *a-šar tab-ra-tû ul i-ši* "the place of observation (i e stage-tower ?) it has not"

[9] C 42, *ù-mu-un-e*, also D 18.

[10] B 29, C 42, D 18; E 23, *ku-ba*. Here *ġ* > *k*, against the usual *ġ* > *g* as in *laġ* > *lag*, *igi-taġ* = *naplusu*, but *igi-tăg* = *pitû*, RA. 28, 139, ii, 13. Cf *taġ* > *tab* = *pitû*, proving *ġ*, sonant, not surd *ḫ*. *ŭ-taġ* = *ingu*, ATU. i, 62, 60, but *ú-tag* = *ingu*, K 4369, Rev 14 (Bab. vii, Pl. iv). These are examples of *final ġ*, sonant. Initial *ġ* in *ġa-lam* = *ḫalâḳu*, but *ga-lim*, JRAS. 1921, 171, 35, same root as *ġilim*, *ġillim*. For *ga-lim*, see also PBS. x, 252, 38 Initial *ḫ* must be assumed in *ḫub-ba* > *ku-ba*,

Of its roof, like one whom the *šûlu* demon has crushed, the light of sun-rise is turned into darkness.

22. še-ib sag-zi-bi ama er-ra-gim [1] er-ra [2]-ág-gà ku.

22^b. *ša li-[bit-tı rêštu elatu-šu] ki-ma um-mu bı-ki-tum ina bı-kı-tū* [3] *ıt-ta-pal-sıḫ.*

The crest of its brick wall sits in mourning like a weeping mother.

23. gi-sal-la [4]-bi tuk-zí-a-gim ki-ám-da-bi-uš.[5]

23^b. *gı-sal-lu-šu ki-ma . . . it-ta-lu-u* [6]

Its *gisallu* like . . . has gone hence ? (is defiled ?).

24. gi-gūr-uš [7]-bi mu-lu šag-gig [8]-ga-gim [9] šu [10]-al-gūr-gūr-ri

24^b. *mur-du-šu kı-ma ša ki-ış lib-bi ıt-ta-na-ág-ra-ar* [11]

Its chamber pavement (i.e. those that tread the pavement) skelter in flight, like one in spasms.

25. búr-ra-aǵ-bi su-din-(ǵu)-dal-la-gim dul-da al-gĭr-gĭr-ri.[12]

25^b. [. . . *šu ki-ma su-dın-nu pı-ri-ši ına nı-gı-ış-şı ıš-te-rı.*[13]]

Note the variants *gim* > *ge* in lines 22 + 24.

suḫuš > *sukuš* > *suku* = *uššu*, *saḫar* > *sakar* = *šaḫarratu* It ıs certaın that thıs sound was sonant *ǵ*, as well as surd *ḫ*, and no fast rule can be established. For ınıtıal *ǵ*, sonant, cf. *ǵúl*, glossed *gul*, Schroeder, KAV. 64, ıı, 20.

[11] B *û-da.*

[12] D omıts *ga*, E 23, *ba-ku-ku-uš*, pl. preterıte! Root *ku-ku-ga* > *ku-ku* = *êtû.* E 24, [*şı*-]*e-tū ıt-tan-tū-u.* Here *sêtu* "sunrıse" = *ûde, uda. ıttantû* = *ıttanţû* = *ıttaţû*, ıv[2] of *eţû.*

[1] C 43, D 19, *er-ra-ge.*

[2] C, D, *er-rı.* Wıth this lıne begıns the bılıngual duplıcate K. 4985 ın Haupt, ASKT. 180.

[3] B 30, *bı-kıt.*

[4] B *la-a.*

[5] C, D, *ki-ám-šı-ıb-uš.* On C, D, thıs lıne follows l. 24.

[6] Thıs lıne from K. 4985 + E 29. *ıttalû* ı[2] of *alû*, "to be far away", חלה ? Or ıv[2] of *la'u* "to defile" ?

[7] C 44 omits *uš.*

[8] B 33, *gı.*

[9] C 44, D 20, *ge.*

[10] B omıts *šu.* K. 4985, *šu-ma-al* [*sıc* !].

[11] Only on K. 4985.

[12] C, D, *gı-rı*, as SBP. 6, 16.

[13] For *šarû* = Arab. *sarâ*, Sum. *giri*, *gırgirrı* (*gıgri*) "to flee by night", v. SBP. 6, 16, n. 7, and [sign] (*kur* = *gūr*) = *šarû*, CT. 12, 25 A 7.

An example of *ka*, var. *gim* is Genouillac, TC. xv, 62, 3; Chiera, *Crozer*, 35, 4:—

mu-šen-e á ud zal-li-da-ka arā [1]-um-gí

Var. á ud-zal-li-da-gim mīr-un-gid.[2]

"The bird (Zû) roared as the sun arose."

Here *gim* has the temporal sense "as", when.

[1] For KA × ŠID, value *ara* see a-ra nam-ba-ab-gí-en, PBS 1[2], 128, iv, 22 = X-nam-be-in-gí = *la tašaggam*, CT. 17, 45, K 8476, 4 Note also ar-im-ma-ab-šá, var. of usual ĝar-ša, ūr-šá = *ramāmu*, AJSL. 39, 164, 17.

[2] This is new, IM-BU (mīr-gid) = *šagāmu*

Maimonides on Listening to Music

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

IN all ages there have been puritans who have looked upon "wine, woman, and song" as things to be avoided. In the East especially, and it was in the East that the phrase was born, the proscription of this trinity of joys was a question of serious moment. It was the cry of the old Hebrew prophets, and it was echoed by the early Christian fathers, as well as by the purists of Islām. To some extent, one can appreciate why wine and woman came to be proscribed, but that song was included is not so easily understood. Yet, when one sees how music is capable of affecting the peoples of the East, coupled with the fact that music with them has invariably been found as a concomitant with wine and woman, it will be more readily appreciated how listening to music came to be looked upon, as Burton said, as being unworthy of, if not unlawful for, those who trod the path of righteousness.

Just as the Christian St. Clement of Alexandria thought that "if people occupy their time with pipes and psalteries, etc., they become immodest and intractable",[1] so the Muslim Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā said that "all dissipation begins with music and ends with drunkenness".[2] With the Jews, very much the same form of condemnation of music was to be found in the Middle Ages, and there is extant a *responsum* of the great Jewish philosopher, Moses Maimonides, on this question which is worthy of attention, not only for its own sake, but also because his attitude on the lawfulness of listening to music has been misinterpreted in authoritative quarters. Yet before dealing with this response it seems advisable that we should, first of all, appreciate historically the attitude of Judaism towards music.

[1] *Pædagogus*, bk. ii, chap. iv.
[2] Staatsbibliothek Berlin, MS. 5504, f. 52, v.

§ 1

The Jews and Music

We are not concerned primarily with the music of the temple or of the synagogue, but rather with secular music —the music of the people. It is generally accepted that the ban on musical instruments and secular song dates from the fall of Jerusalem,[1] it being considered an act of mourning for the destruction of the temple, the text being: "Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as [other] people" (Hosea, ix, 1).[2] In point of fact, however, the forbidding of musical instruments and secular song was much older. Isaiah[3] and Amos,[4] as well as Jesus ben Sirach,[5] had already fulminated against the vanities of this world as reflected in "wine, woman, and song". Much of this was probably a protest against alien practices that had crept into the land of Israel. The orgies of the Babylonian-Assyrian Ishtar worshippers with their *ibbubu* (reed-pipe) players, and the Phœnician Adonis cult with its *abbūba* (= ἀβωβάς) music could not be tolerated by the Jews. Even apart from the cults, reed-pipe players, especially in Greece and Rome (and in the latter they were Semites who actually carried the name of *ambubaiæ*), had a bad reputation.[6] Indeed, the Jews actually objected to Greek music when it threatened to make headway in Palestine.[7]

After the destruction of the temple, mourning for Jerusalem was the cry of the Jews. "If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy" (Psalm, cxxxvii, 6). Music meant joy, and to the Jews there could be no joy with the temple overthrown. This, together with the older proscription of "wine, woman, and song", meant anathema for secular music. That the two

[1] *B Gittin*, 7*a*, *Jewish Encyclopædia*, ix, 432. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 92.
[2] All Biblical quotations are from the Authorized Version.
[3] Isaiah, v, 12, xxiii, 15–16
[4] Amos, vi, 5
[5] Ecclesiasticus, ix, 4
[6] Horace, *Epist*, i, 14. Papias, *Onom*, s v
[7] *B. Ḥagiga*, 15*b*

must be taken into account is evident from the dicta of the semi-*tanaim* and *amoraim* such as Abba Arika,[1] Rabbi Hosha'ya,[2] Rab Huna,[3] Raba,[4] and Rab Yoseph bar Hiyya.[5]

With the advent of Islâm the outcry of the legists against secular music was strengthened when the four great Muslim sects, the Hanafî, the Mâlikî, the Shâfi'î, and the Hanbalî, decided against listening to music. Indeed, there is little difference between the opinions of the Jewish *amoraim* and many of the Muslim *'ulamā* on this question.[6] It is also interesting to note that, as with the Jews, the name *zimri* (reed-pipe player) came to be used for a lewd person, so with the Muslims the word *zammāra* (female reed-pipe player) became synonymous with courtesan.

Yet the proscription was no more universally accepted by the Jews than it was by the Muslims. With the Jews of Al-Hijāz and Al-Yaman it does not appear to have obtained sanction. In Rome, up to the fourth century, we find professional singers, actors, and poets among the Jews.[7] In Babylonia and elsewhere, the censure of secular music was objected to and the movement was sufficiently strong to obtain some modification.[8] The residue of the proscription amounted to this. Musical instruments were forbidden generally, although at Purim and at weddings they were

[1] Abba Arika (d 247) said · "The ear that listens to the reed-pipe shall be cut off." *B. Sota*, 48*a*

[2] Rabbi Hosha'ya (fl. 219) said · "There are players of the hydraulis (*idrablin*) and the reed-pipe (*korablin*) in the land, and such a land should be destroyed." *Bereshith rabba*. See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 43–44.

[3] Rab Huna (d. 297) forbade secular music, but the edict caused so serious an interruption of social life that Rab Hisda was compelled to annul it.

[4] Raba (d. 325) said : "Music in a house must bring that house to destruction." *B. Sota*, 48*a*.

[5] Rab Yoseph (d 333) said. "If men sing and women respond, the result is licentiousness" *B. Sota*, 48*a*

[6] Farmer, *Hist of Arabian Music*, chap ii

[7] Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, i (i), 98.

[8] *B. Sota*, 48*a*. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 254.

permitted. It is curious to observe how this proscription was evaded by some Jews by their employing Muslim and even Christian musicians.[1]

Up to the twelfth century we find the Jews in the East following music as a profession,[2] whilst in Al-'Irâq, the twin-cradle of the *amoraim*, youths actually recited the psalms at holiday time to the accompaniment of musical instruments,[3] all of which shows that the old proscription had spent its force in these parts. In the West, excluding Spain, Jews do not appear to have favoured music as a profession.[4] In Spain, however, under the Arab sulṭāns and caliphs, the Jews encouraged it both as a profession for practitioners and as a science for scholars in spite of the frowns of the legists. Indeed, when the Christians became masters of the land, they complained of the ostentation of the Jews in that they outshone their nobles, one particular objection being that the Jews instructed their children to excel in music.[5] There are several outstanding names of Jewish *virtuosi* in music from that of Al-Manṣūr in the ninth century,[6] to that of Isḥāq ibn Sim'ān in the twelfth century.[7] Even men of high birth such as Yoseph ben Ephraim, the treasurer of Alphonso VIII (d. 1214) of Castille, were skilled musicians.[8] In the Christian courts of Spain, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, Jewish musicians could be found.[9]

As for the theory or science of music, this certainly formed part of the curriculum in higher studies from the time of Isḥāq ibn Sulaimān (d c. 932), better known as Isaac Israeli, who said that music was the last and the best of the four

[1] Abrahams, op cit., l c
[2] Abrahams, op. cit., 246.
[3] Rabbi Petaḥya, *The Travels of Rabbi Petachia*, 47.
[4] Abrahams, op. cit, 246.
[5] Finn, *Sephardim*, 270.
[6] Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 85
[7] Ribera, *La Musica de las Cantigas*, 72
[8] Finn, op cit, 185.
[9] Farmer, *Hist. Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 158.

mathematical sciences that had to be mastered. David al-Muqammas (tenth century), Jehuda ben Barzillai (eleventh-twelfth century), Jehuda ha-Levi (twelfth century), Abraham ben Ḥiyya (d. 1136), Abraham ben Ezra (d. 1168), and Yūsuf ibn 'Aqnīn (d. 1226), all show in their writings that a knowledge of the theory or science of music continued to be considered a desirable accomplishment in scholarship among the Jews.[1]

§ 2

Maimonides on Synagogical Music

Having viewed the position in which secular music stood in the Middle Ages among the Jews, we are able to appreciate the attitude of the great Jewish philosopher, Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), towards this question. Idelsohn, the author of the excellent *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929), says (p. 126) that "Maimonides was extremely antagonistic to all poetry and 'music'". For this statement he gives one (No. 129) of the *responsa* in *Pe'er ha-Dor* as his authority. Reference to this response, however, reveals no corroboration for this statement. Indeed, there is no mention of either poetry or music as such in this response. That part of this response which concerns us reads as follows[2]:—

Request. "May it please Your Excellency . . to decide for us concerning the custom of cantors to intone *piyyuṭim* [lit., to say melodies and *piyyuṭim*] or other songs of praise [lit., songs and praises] or songs in honour of a bridegroom or a circumcision etc. which they insert between the Benedictions preceding and

[1] Wolfson, *The Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy* (Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume, Cincinnati, 1925). Güdemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode.* Ibn 'Aqnīn studied mathematics, which doubtless included the theory of music, under Maimonides at Fusṭāṭ. See also *Jewish Encyclopædia*, i, 108. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 337.

[2] Idelsohn quotes from the Lemberg (1849) edition. This not being available, the Amsterdam (1765) edition has been used here.

following the *shema'* in both the Morning and Evening Services and also in the Evening Service of Festivals. [These interpolations are so lengthy] that the congregation is unable to follow the cantor [they lose interest in the service] and they become unaware as to how far he has reached in the service, i.e whether he is still at the [voluntary] *piyyut* or whether he has reached [the obligatory part of the service as formulated by the *Talmud*] the paragraphs both before and after the *shema'* with the Benediction formulae that they contain. Therefore, may our Master Moses [Maimonides] instruct us what to do, namely, should the cantor say these [interpolated compositions] in the framework of the Benediction-prayer [i.e. the form of service as fixed by the *Talmud*] or after reciting the Benediction-prayer, or before commencing to say that *kaddesh* which follows the prayer beginning . . . Should he then say these *piyyutim* and then proceed with the statutory service [as fixed by the *Talmud*] without any further interruption, or is it immaterial ? "

RESPONSE [by Maimonides] " It is quite wrong to permit any interruption in the paragraphs preceding or following the *shema'*, but if there is some necessity [i.e. by reason of some local post-Talmudic custom to have *piyyutim*] then let them be said before the paragraphs preceding the *shema'*. Nevertheless, he [the cantor] may not break up the Benediction formula nor add to it."

It is clear, therefore, from this response, that it was not music *per se* that was under discussion, but merely the permissibility of certain melodies and metrical poetry (*piyyutim*) being used in the synagogical service. Far from Maimonides being "extremely antagonistic to all poetry and 'music'", as has been supposed, he actually allowed them in the synagogue under certain conditions.[1]

There had been opposition to *piyyutim* as early as the eleventh century, as we know from Hananil (d. 1050) and

[1] See also Nos 64 and 130 of his *responsa*

Hai Gaon (d. 1038), although in the following century Ya'qob ben Meir (d. 1171) had defended their use. It is interesting, however, to have the considered opinion of Maimonides on the question. The latter had himself composed poetry, and it must be understood that his condemnation of singers and preachers "who imagine themselves able to compose a poem" is not directed against poetry itself, but against what the poetry contained. (*More nebukhim*, i, lix.)[1]

§ 3

MAIMONIDES ON SECULAR MUSIC

Maimonides deals with this question in another response, but unlike the previous response, which is in Hebrew, this one is in Arabic, although written in the Hebrew script. The text of this was given by Goldziher in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (xxii, 174) of 1873,[2] and was based on a manuscript in the possession of the Chief Rabbi Bernstein of The Hague. It was accompanied by a translation into German. The text was also published by Abraham Schmiedl in Eisig Graeber's Hebrew journal, *Beth ozar ha-sipharoth* (Year i, xxvii) in 1887, together with a translation into Hebrew. A Hebrew version also appears among the *responsa* of Maimonides in *Pe'er ha-Dor* (No. 143). Ya'qob ben Asher (d. 1340), the great Jewish legist of Toledo, has referred to this response.[3]

We do not know the name of the person making the request nor do we know the date, but as the *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* is mentioned in the response it must have been written later than 1190. Here is the request and the response in question. The texts of both Goldziher and Schmiedl have been used.[4]

[1] For a concise account of the use of the *piyyuṭ* see Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (1932), chap v

[2] Cf. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Lit. der Juden*, 212.

[3] *Tur Oraḥ ḥayyim*, c. 560. Cited by Goldziher.

[4] C = Bernstein Codex; G = Goldziher text, S = Schmiedl text. Professor D. S. Margoliouth has been good enough to suggest several emendations of the text, and he has also helped me with one or two points in the translation.

שאלה[1] הל יגוז סמע אלגנא
באלמושחאת אלערביה[2] ואלזמר

אלגואב מעלום אן נפס אלזמר
ואלאיקאעאת כלהא חראם ולו
לם יקל[3] עלידהא כלאם אצלא
לקולהם ז״ל אודנא דשמעא
זמרא תעקר וקד בין אלתלמוד
אן לא פרק בין סמע אלזמר או
תנגים אלאותאר[4] או תלחין[5]
אלאלחאן דון אלצלאת[6] ויגב כסר
אלנפס וגברהא חראם[7] כמא
דכרנא[8] ואסתנדוא אלי אלנהי
אלנבי[9] קאל אל תשמח ישראל
אל[10] גיל כעמים ועלה[11] דלך
בינא גדא לאן הדא אלקוה
אלשהואניה ינבגי קמעהא ורדעהא
ומסך ענאנהא לא אן תתור[12] ויחי[13]

[1] S סאל.
[2] S: אלערב.
[3] C· יקאל
[4] G· אלאנתאר.
[5] S· תלחיז
[6] C· אלא צלאת.
[7] This is Professor Margoliouth's emendation of the passage.
S יגב כסנד אלנפס וערבהא חראם.
G. יגב בסנו (בסנד or בסחו) אלנפס וטרבהא חראם.
[8] G דכרדא.
[9] G. אלנבי.
[10] C: את.
[11] C: דעליה
[12] Professor Margoliouth's emendation. S and G. תותר.
[13] G· ויחיי.

מיתהא ולא ינטֿר פי מר [1] אלואחד
אלשאדׄ אלקליל אלוגוד [אלדׄי] [2]
יגב לה דׄלך רקה̈ [3] אלנפס
וסרעה̈ אנפעאל לאדראך [4] מעקול
או כֿשוע ללאמור אלדינה̇ [5] לאן
אלחכמה [6] אלשריעיה̈ [7] אנמא
תכתב [8] בחסב אלאכֿתֿר ואלאגֿלב
שדברי [9] חכמים בהוה וקד בינוא [10]
לנא אלנביון [11] דׄלך וקאלוא מנכרין
עלי אסתעמאל [12] אלאת אלאלחאן
עלי גהה̈ אלעבאדה̈ [13] בסמעהם
והו קולהם הפרטים על פי הנבל [14]
כדויד חשבו להם כלי שיר וקד
בינא פי שרח אבות̇ אן לא
פרק בין אלאקאויל אלעבראניה
ואלערביה אנמא יחרם דׄלך או
יחל בחסב אלמעני אלמראד [15] פי
תלך אלאקאויל ואלספהה באלחקיקה
חרם סמעהא ולו קילת ותרא [16]

[1] i.e. امرى. אלמר would have been better. G : חר.
[2] Not in S.
[3] Professor Margoliouth's emendation. S and G : וקא.
[4] C : לאדראך.
[5] S : suggests אלדניא.
[6] G : אלאחכים.
[7] G : אלשרעיה.
[8] S · תסתב.
[9] G : שדברו.
[10] G : בין.
[11] G : אלנבוין.
[12] G : אסתעאל.
[13] G : ?אלעבאדא.
[14] Misprint in G : הובל.
[15] C . אלמכאך.
[16] C : נתר.

פאן[1] לחנת עלידהא[2] כאן הגאך
תלאת חרמאנאת חרמאן סמע אלספה
נבלות הפה וחרמאן סמע אלגנא
אעני זמרא בפומא וחרמאן סמע
אלאותאר ואן כאן דלך פי[3]
מקאם שרב שראב כאן חרמאן
ראבע והו קולה תעאלי והיה
כנור ונבל תף[4] וחליל ויין
משתיהם פאן כאנת[5] אלמגניה
אמראה כאן הגאך חרמאן כאמס[6]
לקולהם ז"ל קול באשה ערוה
פכיף אן כאנת תגני וקד[7] באן
אלחק באלברהאן והו אן
אלמקצוד בנא אן נכון גוי
קדוש ולא יכון לנא פעל ולא
קול אלא פי כמאל או פי מא
יודי אלי כמאל לא פי אתארה
אלקוי[8] אלנפסאניה[9] מן כל כיר[10]

[1] G. כאן.
[2] C: עלי אלא.
[3] S: כי
[4] G: ותוף. S. תוף
[5] C· כאנית.
[6] S: במאם.
[7] G: קד.
[8] G: (?) רלקוי.
[9] Professor Margoliouth's emendation G. אלמאנעה. S: אלאנסאניה.
[10] Perhaps בור = خور.

ולא פי אהמאלהא[1] פי אללהו
ואללעב וקד בינא פי הד̇א אלג̇רץ
פי אלדלאלה̈ מא פיה כפאה̈
פי אלג̇ז אלאכר מנהא באקאויל
יקינה̈ ענד[2] אלפצ̇לא ואלד̇י ד̇כרוא
אלגאונים ז״ל הו תלחין דברי
שירות ותשבחות[3] כמא ד̇כר
בעל הלכות[4] ז״ל ואמא[5] דבר
מגונה בהא[6] חס ושלום לא נשמע
זאת בישראל לא מן גאון ולא מן
הדיוט ואלעגב מן קולכם[7] במחצ̇ר
כשרים ו כשרים [8]ענדי מא
יחצ̇רון מקאמאת אלשראב אלמסכר
וקד בינא פי דלך איצא פי
אלדלאלה מא פיה כפאיה̇ אן
דלך אלד̇י יבדינא בסמאע אלאת[9]
אלגנא[10] ושלום וכתב משה.

[1] G: אהמאל
[2] S: ענר.
[3] G: תושבחות.
[4] G: ההלכות.
[5] Misprint in G.. זאמא.
[6] G reads etc. ז״ל ואמא דבר שלא ינגה בהא.
[7] G: כלכם C: קולכם.
[8] Professor Margoliouth's emendation Perhaps כשרים should be inserted between ענדי and מא G and S read ולא כשרים.
[9] S: אלאם.
[10] G reads: מא פיה כפאיה̈ אן יבדינא לד̇לך בסמאע אלאת אלגנא.

Translation [1]

REQUEST. "Is it lawful to listen to the singing (*ghinā'*) in the ballads (*muwashshaḥāt*) of the Arabs, and to the reed-pipe (*zamr*) ?"

RESPONSE [by Maimonides] "It is well known that the reed-pipe itself and the rhythms (*īqā'āt*), all of them are forbidden, even if there had not been said about them any saying at all according to the pronouncement,—'The ear that listens to the reed-pipe shall be cut off'[2] And the *Talmud* has explained[3] that there is no difference between listening to the reed-pipe or hearing stringed instruments or to the modulation (*talḥin*) of melodies (*alḥān*) apart from the prayer. And it is proper to break in the soul and unlawful to comfort it

"And they [the Rabbis] support themselves on the prohibition [of] the Prophet He said,—'Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as [other] people'[4] And we have explained the cause of that thoroughly, because, as for this sensuous faculty, it behoves us to tame it, and repress it, and tighten its rein ; not that it should be excited and resuscitated (lit its dead made to live) And one should not judge by (lit look at) an individual man, who is exceptional, and rarely to be found, in whom that [music] occasions delicacy of mind and quickness of impressionability necessary for the perception of a *noumenon* (*ma'qul*), or submission to religious matters. Legal wisdom only writes in accordance with the majority and the prevailing because,—'The wise have spoken concerning what ordinarily happens'[5] And the Prophets have explained that to us, and have spoken prohibiting the use of instrumental music by way

[1] This translation differs considerably from that made by Goldziher

[2] *B Sota*, 48a. Cf the attitude of Muhammad who put his fingers in his ears when he heard the reed-pipe (*mizmār* = *zamr*) being played Ibn Khallikān, *Biog Dict*, iii, 521

[3] *Gittin*, 7a

[4] Hosea, ix, 1

[5] *B. Shabbath*, 68a.

of hearing them devotionally, and it is their saying,—'That chant to the sound of the viol (*nebel*), [and] invent to themselves instruments of music, like David.'[1]

"And we have already explained in the *Commentary on Aboth*[2] that there is no difference between Hebrew and Arabic words; only such are prohibited or permitted in accordance with the meaning intended in those words. And in reality it is the hearing of folly that is prohibited, even if uttered [accompanied] by stringed instruments. And if melodized upon them there would be three prohibitions:—(1) the prohibition of listening to folly (follies of the mouth), (2) and the prohibition of listening to singing (*ghinā'*), I mean playing with the mouth, and (3) the prohibition of listening to stringed instruments. And if it were in a wine shop [where the listening occurred] there would be a fourth prohibition, as in the saying of Him Most High,—'And the harp (*kinnor*), and the viol (*nebel*), the tabret (*toph*), and pipe (*halil*), and wine, are in their feasts.'[3] And if the singer be a woman, then there is a fifth prohibition according to their [the Rabbis'] saying,—'A voice in a woman is a shame.'[4] Then how much [greater the prohibition] if she be singing.

"And the truth is made plain by proof, and this is that that which is aimed at in us, is that we should be a 'holy nation', and that there should not be to us either work or word except in perfection, or what leads to perfection; not in the stirring up of the sensuous faculties to the neglect of all that is good [*or* whenever lax], nor in letting them run loose in diversion and play.

"And we have explained with sufficiency to this purpose in the *Dalālat* [*al-ḥā'irīn*],[5] in the last part

[1] Amos, vi, 5.
[2] i, 17.
[3] Isaiah, v, 12
[4] *B. Berakoth*, 24*a*.
[5] Known in Hebrew as the *More nebukhim*.

of it, with words that will carry conviction to the worthy. And that which the blessed Gaonim have mentioned is the setting of melody (*talḥīn*) to songs and praises, as the blessed author of *halakoth* said,[1]—As for improper subjects being in them—God forbid! This was not heard in Israel, either from Gaon or illiterate person. And the wonder is at your saying,—'in the presence of pious persons,' for, in my opinion, they are not pious so long as they attend wine bouts. And we have explained enough regarding that also in the *Dalālat* [*al-ḥā'irīn*]. This is what seems right to us regarding listening to instruments of music And Peace. [Thus] wrote Moses [Maimonides]."

§ 4

COMMENTARY

We may suppose that we have in this response of Maimonides a new ethic for the Jews on the question of listening to music. He states the orthodox view of the older teachers that singing and the reed-pipe were anathema. He does not, however, give his precedent for his objection to rhythm (*īqā'*), nor does he answer the question regarding the use of the Arabic ballad (*muwashshah*). Probably he considered that the latter was beneath his notice. The Jews held that the Arabs only sang of "lust and war" in their poetry. The statement was not strictly correct, although the early popular *muwashshahāt* were mainly erotic in sentiment, and it is highly probable that this type of ballad which was introduced into Egypt by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk during Maimonides' lifetime was of this character. As for rhythm, this was the great feature of all instrumental music which was itself suspect. Further, the rhythmical song, which was of Arabic origin, was finding a place in the synagogue, much to the disgust of some legists.

Hai Gaon (d. 1038) and Isḥāq al-Fāsī (d. 1103) had objected to the rhythmical song, and the latter had a weighty influence

[1] Isḥāq al-Fāsī (d. 1103), *Berakoth*, f. 25b. Quoted by Goldziher.

over Maimonides. Still, as we have seen in the previous response, he allowed such things when local custom demanded them.

Like the excellent legist that he was, Maimonides realized that prevailing custom could not be ignored and wisely he expresses the opinion that "legal wisdom only writes in accordance with the majority and the prevailing". What "prevailed" among the Jews in Spain has already been mentioned, and we may assume that in Egypt, where this response was written, things were very little different. The *piyyuṭ* was certainly in favour at Fusṭāt.[1] It would have been to little purpose to have continued to condemn an art that had become a definite part of the social and religious life of the Jews. All that could be hoped in the circumstances was to control it.

Even apart from this, Maimonides was doubtless impressed by his mentors. Among the Greek authors that he knew in Arabic he found Plato and Aristotle in praise of the art. Among the Arabs, Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq (d. 873), Al-Fārābī (d. 950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), and Ibn Bājja (d. 1138) had all dealt with music in its practical, theoretical, or moral sense. In the face of this he could not merely repeat the old proscription as it stood even though an illustrious predecessor such as Sa'adya Gaon (d. 942), himself born in Egypt, had partly approved the objection.[2]

Fortunately the ground had already been broken by another illustrious Jew of Spain, Ibn Gabirol (d. c. 1058). In the latter's *Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāq*, generally called the "Ethics", it was very discreetly laid down that it was not listening to mere notes (*naghamāt*) of music that was forbidden, but listening to indecent things that might accompany such notes in a song. Yet, as Ibn Gabirol pointed out, "one ought to

[1] Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, I, 269–270.
[2] Engelkemper, *Saadja Gaon. Über die Hh. Schrift* . . . (*Beit. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.-A.s*, IV, 1903), p. 71.

know the places where it is necessary to pay good heed and those wherein it is not fitting to hear at all." [1]

It has to be admitted, however, that in this response, Maimonides has little scope for the development of his argument, and one has to look elsewhere for fuller corroboration, and especially to his *Shemone peraqim*.[2] In this work, which was written as an introduction to the *Commentary on Aboth*, Maimonides recommends "the happy medium" of Platonic teaching for the sustenance of a healthy body. The man who refrains from eating viands and drinking wine simply to satisfy one particular desire is no better than the glutton or drunkard who goes to excess to gratify another particular desire [3] "The perfect law which leads us to perfection," he says, . . . "aims at man's following the path of moderation, in accordance with the dictates of nature." [4] Just as the body can be sick by deviation from the path of moderation, so can the soul.[5] And just as the body physician can attend to the physical frame of man, so can the moral physician care for the soul of man.[6]

Maimonides, as a moral physician, recommends the cultivation of the senses "for the purpose of quickening the soul". HEARING · "By listening to stringed and reed-pipe music." [7] SEEING. "By gazing on beautiful pictures." [SMELLING] "By strolling through beautiful gardens." [FEELING .] "By wearing fine raiment." TASTING · "By eating highly seasoned delicacies." Such things, he assures us, are 'not to be considered immoral nor unnecessary", and he cites the Rabbis, "of blessed memory," in support of his contention.

[1] *The Improvement of Moral Qualities* . *by Ibn Gabirol* . (Edited) by S S. Wise, p 36.

[2] *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides on Ethics* . . . Edited . by J. I. Gorfinkle.

[3] Chap iv. [4] Chap iv [5] Chap iii. [6] Chap. v.

[7] Cf the statement in *Maimonides* by Yellin and Abrahams (p 141) that "music had no charms for him"

"The real duty of man," he says, "is that in adopting whatever measures he may, for the well-being and preservation of his existence in good health, he should do so with the object of maintaining a perfect condition of the instrument of the soul." [1] Seeing that music administered to the needs of the soul, as Plato had taught long before, it could not be otherwise that Maimonides should have believed in its permissibility, on condition that it was used in moderation and did not accompany forbidden things.

In this respect he was in agreement with the liberal Muslims. In Arabic there was quite a library of literature on the subject.[2] Some of it, such as the *Dhamm al-malāhī* of Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā (d. 894), was a violent diatribe against music. Other writings, such as the *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn* and the *Bwāriq al-asmā'* of Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and his brother Abū'l-Futuḥ Majd al-Dīn (d. 1126),[3] were reasoned arguments in favour of the art. Al-Ghazālī, and those like him, who argued as a general proposition that it was lawful to listen to music, laid it down that listening was forbidden in the following cases: (1) If the singer or player is a woman; (2) if the instrument used is already prohibited [4]; (3) if the content of what is sung, or if the deeds or actions in the place where the singing or playing occur, are already forbidden; (4) if music incites any particular individual to commit forbidden acts, that particular music is forbidden; (5) if one listens to music for its own sake and not for recreation.[5]

This is practically what we see in the above response of Maimonides and also in his *Shemone peraqim*, i.e. the necessity

[1] Chap. v.

[2] Farmer, *Hist of Arabian Music*, chap. ii, and pp. 101, 146, 195

[3] For the *Bwāriq al-asmā'* see Staatsbibliothek Berlin MS (Peterman, ii, 400), f 17.

[4] Several particular instruments, notably the *kūba* (an hour-glass shaped drum), was forbidden because of its use by the *mukhannathūn*. See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 6, 44.

[5] See the translation into English by Professor D B. Macdonald in the *JRAS*. (1901–2)

of distinguishing between the implement itself and its use. For instance, Maimonides recommends mathematics for the purpose of sharpening the mind. If, however, a man were to use mathematics for the purpose of committing a forbidden act such as falsifying accounts, that would not make mathematics unlawful. So with music. *Per se*, music was permitted, but it depended entirely to what use it was put. As Maimonides says: "In reality it is the hearing of folly that is prohibited." That is why he made "folly" his basis of objection: (1) Folly is prohibited; (2) and (3) if singing or a musical instrument accompanies the folly, the prohibition is greater; (4) if folly occurs where there is wine, the objection is greater still; (5) if the singer [or player] be a woman, the accumulated disapproval is the greatest.

Did Maimonides know the *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn* of Al-Ghazālī? Some of his arguments suggest that he did. Yet, on the other hand, Maimonides does not breathe a word about the divine influence of music and singing which Al-Ghazālī, as a *ṣūfī*, praises. In Al-Ghazālī, Maimonides had a man "after his own heart" in many ways In his *Shemone peraqim*, Maimonides deals with the "partitions" which prevent man from comprehending God. Only those who attained the ranks of the Prophets could pass these "partitions", and the greater the Prophet he says, the fewer the "partitions". Al-Ghazālī believed that these "veils", as another *ṣūfī* calls them, could only be lifted when man attained the supreme stage of ecstasy of the soul, and this rapture, he says, was reached by *listening to music and singing*.

152.

On Some Assyrian Minerals

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

CONSIDER the following passages from vocabularies [1] :—

(1) *CT.* xiv, 3, K. 4325, iv–vi, ll. 18–25 : ib. 5, K. 4368, iv–vi, ll. 8–16 ; and for col. iv, presumably 81–7–27, 147 (Meissner, *Suppt.*, pl. 27) :—

		(*Presumed* restoration from 81–7–27, 147.)
18. *takPEŠ*	= *is-sil-lat* : *is-kil-lat* [2]	= (Uncertain traces)
19. *takPEŠ PEŠ*	= *ši-ki-[e-tum ?]* [3]	= ? *iš-ki-il-la-tum*
20. *takPEŠ.PEŠ*	= *ḫa-an-da-pil-[lum ?]*	= ? ,,
21. *takša-ma-a-a-tum*	= [,, ?]	= *mu-si-il-tum* [4]
22. *takZUR.ŠAR.GUB.BA*	= *ŠU-u* (i e *ZUR šargubbû*)	= *ia-ni-bu* [5]
23. *takmar-ḫu-šum*	= *ŠU-u* (i.e. *marḫušu*)	= ? *ḫa-an-na-ḫu-ru*
24. *taksag-gil-mut* [6]	= *tar-ma-nu* [7]	= *[sa]g-gil-li-mut* [8]

(2) *CT.* xiv, 14, K. 4396, ll. 10–13, dup. ib., S. 995, rev. 4–7 :—

[1] Abbreviations: As in *JRAS*, 1929, 801, with additions · Boson = *Rivista d. Studi Orientali*, vii ; *BA* = *Beiträge z. Assyr* , *MVAG* = *Mittheil d. Vorderas. Gesellsch.*, *OTC.* = my *On the Chemistry*, *R* = Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr.*, *RA.* = *Revue d'Assyr.* ; *ZA.* = *Zeits. f. Assyr* I am much indebted to Dr. Nevil Sidgwick, F.R.S., for his ready help in questions involving chemistry

[2] From *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 4 ; see also Deimel, No 390, 10, and p. 890 for an addition

[3] Presumed from *CT* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 3, which gives the additional = *pur-ṭa-a-tum*, but it is not a certain equivalent.

[4] Cf. also equivalence, *CT.* xiv, 15, 13 : 17, ii 15 . *mu-[ṣa]l-tum*.

[5] Equivalence also, *HWB.* 50, quoting K. 4349, 10 ; and *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 14.

[6] Read thus with Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1904, 3, 17 ; Var. K 4368, [*taksag-g*]*i-li-mut*.

[7] Rest. from *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 15 (Meissner, ib.).

[8] *CT.* xviii, ib., *AN.AN* (= *sag*)-*gi-il-mut*, Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1905, 4, 9.

10.	*takPEŠ*	= *take-ri-e*	= *INIM.INIM.MA.BI* [1]
11.	*takNU.PEŠ*	= *takla* „	= (blank)
12.	*takU.TU*	= *taka-la-di*	= *takit-ta-mir*
13.	*takNU.U TU*	= *takla* „	= *da-a-a-i-ku*

Presumably these minerals are in some kind of scientific order. To confirm this, cf. those which we already know: (21) *takšamaîtum* "the heavenly-blue", i.e. the beautiful blue crystals of blue vitriol (*OTC.* 116), with equivalent *takmuṣiltum*, which looked to me like the origin of the Syr. *musîdin*, *vitriolum cuprinum*, garbled (ib. 117); (22) *ianibu*, green vitriol (ib. 112); (23) *takmarḫašum*, marcasite, pyrites, whence comes green vitriol (ib. 117). Our group (1) would appear to be connected with pyrites and the vitriols. Let us first consider *takerî* in this connection.

(*a*) *takPEŠ*, *takerî* "THE PREGNANT STONE", AETITES

In (2) is a group "the pregnant stone", "the not-pregnant stone", "the birth-stone", "the not-birth-stone" Von Oefele (*ZA.* xiv, 1899–1900, 357) suggested very reasonably that the "birth-stone" was ἀετίτης, the "eagle stone" of Diosc. v, clx, used as an amulet in pregnancy. The old idea that the ἀετίτης was one of the Geodes, a globular mass of clay ironstone, sometimes hollow, enclosing another stone (Bostock, *Pliny*, vol. vi, 364) was correct; but I propose to show that it was the "pregnant stone" of the Assyrians, not the "birth-stone", as Von Oefele thought, although his suggestion was very near the mark.[2]

Theophrastus (*Hist. of Stones*, xi) says that the greatest and most wonderful of all qualities of stones is that of those which bring forth young. Sir John Hill (who edited Theophrastus, p. 27, note), says that the stone meant is the *aetites* or eagle-stone, famous for its imaginary virtues

[1] Perhaps scribal indication of its "magical value", i.e. *takerî* is a stone for pregnancy.

[2] Actually he applied his suggestion to *datku* (which was at that time misread *afku*), properly the "not-birth-stone"

in assisting delivery, and he explains that there is a separate stone contained in the cavity of another, which rattles. Dioscorides v, clx, says that it is a stone which, when shaken gives out a sound as of being pregnant with another, and is used to assist pregnant women. Pliny (*NH.* x, 4; xxxvi, 39) describes it as male and female. Ibn Beithar (Leclerc, *Notices des Manuscr.*, xxiii, No. 130) says that the Arabic stone *iktamekt*, aetites, is known as *ḥajar el-wilâdâ* "stone of birth", and quotes Aristotle as saying that, if it is shaken, the sound of another can be heard inside; and when the female eagle is about to lay, her mate places this stone on her, and it relieves her. So also Razes; and El-Ghafeki says that eagles take it to their aeries as a talisman for their young; and that it is powdered and put in women's milk, and wool is then steeped in it, and if it is carried by a woman who cannot conceive, she will conceive by God's grace.[1]

To prove that ^{tak}*PEŠ*, ^{tak}*erî* = ἀετίτης, we must begin with ^{tak}*PEŠ.PEŠ* ("doubled pregnant stone"). First, both these have the value *iš(s)killatu* ((1), 18, 19), hitherto unexplained, which, I think, is obviously the same as the Heb. *eškôl* "a bunch of grapes", from which a geologist would at once infer a *botryoidal* form of stone for ^{tak}*PEŠ* and ^{tak}*PEŠ PEŠ*. Bostock's "globular mass of clay-ironstone" quoted above coincides with botryoidal hæmatite.[2] The reduplication of ^{tak}*PEŠ* makes ^{tak}*PEŠ.PEŠ* the more definitely the clustered, botryoidal form of the hæmatite.

Hill (ib. 164) describes the *hæmatites* of Theophrastus as sometimes of a plain, striated texture, and sometimes with a surface rising very beautifully into globular inequalities,

[1] Note the similarity of the myth of the ἀετίτης with the *šamma ša aladi* "birth drug" which the eagle provides for Etana's wife in the Assyrian story (Harper, *BA.* ii, 447, K 8578, 12, 13). We can, I presume, dismiss any punning connection with *take-ri-e* "the pregnant stone" and the word for "eagle", *erû*. For this word with a plant-determinative see *CT.* xiv, 26, K. 4429, ll. 3–8, dup pl 31, K. 4581, rev. 1–4.

[2] There are, of course, other botryoidal stones. Pliny, *NH* xxxvii, 53, mentions a *botryitis*, resembling a bunch of grapes, which Bostock says may be *datholite*, or borate of lime, a variety of which is known as botryolite.

resembling clusters of grapes. More modern writers describe hæmatite as iron sesquioxide, usually earthy or in botryoidal to reniform shapes (Dana, *Manual*, 1912, 185), and brown hæmatite (= limonite) in mammillary to stalactitic forms (ib. 200). That this exists in North Mesopotamia is shown by Ainsworth (*Assyria*, 269), who says that to the north of Mardin is a friable, laminar rock, of a buff-yellow colour, which is remarkably redolent with botryoidal hæmatites. These hæmatites, he says, are frequently hollow, the cavities being filled with calcareous spar, and they are so abundant in some places as to form beds. We have, therefore, not only an equivalence *iškillatu* = "botryoidal form" = ^{tak}*PEŠ*. *PEŠ* and ^{tak}*PEŠ* ("pregnant stone") in a group of stones relating to pyrites, but we have actually botryoidal hæmatites, hollow and filled with calcareous spar, found near Mardin.

Next, that ^{tak}*PEŠ* is hollow is shown in two medical quotations. *KAR.* 204, 15, *enuma* ditto *NE.ZA.ZA ša lib* ^{tak}*PEŠ nâri i-ba-a[n-ni ?] ultu ? . . . -šu] a-di i (?)-ku-ti-šu tuṣaḫḫar(ar) ta-zak ta-ṣa-[ru-ma ibaluṭ]* "When ditto, a frog which the middle of a *PEŠ*-stone of the river cre[ateth (?), from its . . ?] to its (?) . . . thou shalt reduce, bray, bi[nd on, and he shall recover]". This old idea that frogs could be reproduced or bred within the cavities of stones is, I believe, exploded, but it has long been a tradition, and it is very interesting, especially for our present proof, to see that this belief did exist also in Assyria.

The second is from *AM.* 80, 1, 17, *enuma NA su-a-lam iṣbat-su ṭa-li-la ša lib* ^{tak}*PEŠ tuṣaḫḫar(ar) tazak ina šamni ḫalṣi išatti-ma ibaluṭ* "When a cough affects a man, the 'dew (?)'[1] from the middle of a ^{tak}*PEŠ*-stone thou shalt

[1] *Ṭalila.* I cannot agree with Professor Langdon (*RA.* xxix, 121) that this is merely a synonym for "frog". We might almost say that *prima facie* the evidence is against this being an animal, since the grammatical lists give us so very many names for the various animals, and this is not included among them The Heb *ṭall*, the Syr *ṭallâ* "dew", may perhaps indicate that we have here the word for the crystalline secretion within the hollow

reduce, bray, let him drink in refined oil, and he shall recover."

If we accept ^{tak}*PEŠ* as (botryoidal) hæmatite,[1] the use of this as a drug in Assyrian medicine is very instructive. In *AM.* 1, 2, 15, it is to be applied with several other drugs for *samanu* (some form of ulceration or scabies) in the head : in *KAR.* 195, *r.* 29, *enuma ŠAL* ditto (= *U.TU*)-*ma abunnat-sa paṭrat-sa alaka la ikalla* ^{tak}*PEŠ tuṣaḫḫar tazak ana ŠI tanadi* " When a woman has borne a child and her *abunnatu* (some part of the womb or neighbourhood) has slipped (been loosed) (and) she cannot walk, thou shalt reduce (and) bray ^{tak}*PEŠ*, put (it) on the place ". Ib. 30, for the same trouble, ^{tak}*PEŠ* is to be mixed with five other drugs and sprinkled (with oil) and bound on the affected part after anointing.

Red hæmatite, properly peroxide of iron, when powdered, will produce, with oil of vitriol, *ferri persulphas*. In modern medicine *liquor ferri persulphatis* is an excellent styptic (it is used in several preparations of iron), and the sulphate is used externally as a lotion for ulceration and erysipelatous surfaces, and as an injection for urethral and vaginal inflammations and prolapse of rectum (Squire, *Companion to Brit. Pharm.*, 1908, 531 ; Booth, *Encycl. of Chem.*, 743).

stone. As was shown above, the hollow hæmatites of Mardin contain calcareous spar (carbonate of lime). Ebeling suggested that we had here a stone containing another stone inside, but at the same time, although he read *da-li-la*, he suggested that it should be *ša-li-la* (= embryo), Talm. Heb. *šālīl* (*Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin* xiii, 11).

Ṭa-lil (?) *lalara* in my article *PRSM* , 1926, 74, n. 4, I translated " liquid of a cricket ", prescribed for putting on teeth. Dr. W. J. Rutherford has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in Sir Thomas Browne (*Works*, ed Wilkin, iii, 359) . " To observe that insect which a countryman shewed Baricellus, found in the flowers of *Eryngium cichoreum*, which readily cure warts ; *est coloris Thalassini cum maculis rubris, et assimilatur proportione corporis cantharidi, licet parvulum sit. Acceperat ea rusticus, et singula in singulis verrucis digitis expressit unde exibat liquor.*"

[1] Von Oefele, loc. cit. (repeated by Boson, 413), considered the *PEŠ*-stone to be the λίθος σαμίος, " probably a kind of hæmatite." He calls it the *kakamabi*-stone, but this is perhaps as I have suggested on p. 886, n. 1, properly *INIM.INIM.MA.BI* " its magical equivalence ", i.e. a stone for pregnancy.

We may thus sum up *takPEŠ*, *takerî* "the pregnant stone" (with its forms "*takPEŠ* of the river", "*takPEŠ* of the sea", see note below), and the redupl. form *takPEŠ.PEŠ*, as a botryoidal hæmatite, hollow, or containing either another stone, or "dew (?)" (calcareous spar), the hæmatite being confirmed by its use in Assyrian medicine, and consequently it (and not *takU.TU*) is the ἀετίτης of the classical authors.[1]

(*b*) *takSaggil(i)mut* "THUNDERBOLT" (TRUE OR FALSE), (NODULE OF IRON SULPHIDE)

Included in (1) after the botyroidal hæmatites (*takPEŠ*, *takPEŠ.PEŠ*), sulphate of copper, blue vitriol, botryoidal chalcanthum, and pyrites. The various spellings show it to be non-Sumerian.

First, note Esarhaddon (Layard, *Inscr.*: IR, 45–47, col. iii, 25; and my *Prisms*, 21): "Bâzu, a district of remote situation, a journey of desert, a land of salt (and) a place of thirst, 120 double hours of sandy ground, thistles and load-

[1] The other equivalents, *ḫandapil[lum ?]* (two words joined ?), *šikê[tum ?]* and *puṛâtum* are difficult, although perhaps the latter might suggest Heb *pereṭ* "the broken off" esp. of grapes (Lev 19, 10). *Is(ṣ, z)sillatu* can hardly be a corrupt form of *is(š)killatu*, but is perhaps to be compared with Heb. *šâlal* "to collect" (Dalman, *Aram.-Heb. Wörterb.*, 405), *šĕlēl*, in *šĕlēl šel bêṣîm* "ovary", and the Syr *šellĕthê da-d'mâ* "drops of blood", the Assyrian *š* presumably having become *s* by doubling. But this is uncertain, for although forms like *ikribu* from *karâbu* exist, it is not easy to find forms like *isillatu*. An additional value for *takPEŠ* is given in Deimel, No. 390, 10 = *la-ḫi tak-na-te* (= *CT.* xviii 26, Rm. 339, 4 [*la-ḫu ta]k-na-tum*). *Laḫu* = "offspring" (embryo), and *taknâti*, *f. pl.* of *taknu* "care", the group then referring to the protection given to the embryo in the womb, or the smaller stone protected by its outer covering.

As will have been noticed, we have had one instance of "*takPEŠ*-stone of the river". This is used also in Assyrian medicine, externally, similarly to the simple *takPEŠ* *KAR.* 192, ii, 27 (dup. *AM.* 73, i, ii, 3), where it is prescribed to be placed on a swelling (*kabartu*), which is to be anointed with *ŠE SUN* (?) and bound on; in *AM.* 44, I, ii, 11, it is to be "reduced" and applied to the spot in some skin trouble (or similar affection). It may even be worn (magically) as a bead on a necklace, for a swelling (*KAR.* 192, iv, 32).

There is possibly a third form, the *takPEŠ A.AB.BA*, of the sea, but the text is a little doubtful. This is also used for anointing a swelling or bruise (*dikšu*) with others. (*KAR.* 182, 18.)

stone, where snakes and scorpions like ants filled the ground; 20 double hours of the land of Ḫazû, mountains of *saggilmut*-stone, behind me I left."

I cannot agree with Mr. Sidney Smith[1] (*Bab. Hist. Texts*, 17) that this Bâzu represents a district in Ardistan. Of the names of the eight "kings" which follow, one, *Akbaru*, is surprisingly Arabic, and it may be said that there are great probabilities of the others being Arabs also. Bâzu has long been identified with the O.T. Bûz, whose family seems to have settled in Arabia Deserta or Petræa (Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, i, 237). Ḫazû has great similarity with El Haṣa, the eastern coastland of Nejd (less probably Huzwa in Yemama, Hommel, *Geogr.* ii, 1926, 557). It is interesting to see that Palgrave (*Central and E. Arabia*, i, 44) mentions small scorpions abounding in the sandy soil of the Jebel el-Jouf, each about a quarter of an inch in length. I think that we must see the locality of this *Saggilmut*-mountain in E. Arabia.

Next, consider the omens from lightning: "If it thunders in Tammuz, and lightning *ša kima* ^{tak}*saggilmut ultu libbi Šamši ištanaḫiṭa* . . . [*ina lib*]*bi Šamši irub*, i.e. which like *saggilmut*-stone leaps forth from the midst of the sun . . . (and) enters [the midst] of the sun" (Virolleaud, *Adad*, 5, 15). Rarely, if ever, is a stone thus mentioned in omen-texts, and it remains to be seen whether a colour is indicated, or something more recondite.

Thirdly, in (1) *tarmanu* = ^{tak}*saggilmut*. Now *ta-ar-ma-nu* = *be-lu*, a weapon of some kind (v, R. 41, a-b, 8 + ii, R. 31, No. 3, 8: Bezold, *Glossar*, "arrow (?)"), coming from *ramû* "to throw", the form being comparable to *tabaštanu* from *bâšu*. In the plant lists (K. 8249 + 82–5–22, 576, *CT*. xiv, 31, and 40, iii–iv)

11. ^{u}*na-ni-ḳu* = ^{u}*ka-lu-u*

12. ^{u}*ka-lu-u ut-liš*[2] *ašagi ka-zi-ri*[3] *la iši inbu-šu kima tar-ma-ni*

[1] Also see Landsberger, *ZA*. 1926, 7.

[2] I re-read this in 1922 as *du* (*DU*) [3] For note 3 see next page.

i.e. u*naniḳu* = the plant u*kalû*, in common speech (*or*, product of the) thorn; it has no juice, its fruit is like *tarmanu*. u*Naniḳu* also occurs K. 8846, ib., pl. 31, l. 29.

There is little doubt that the *Zizyphus spina Christi*, the *nebḳ* of the Arabs, fits this. The fruit, "like *tarmanu*," cannot be compared to an arrow or a spear, but "sling-bolt" is a different matter. In Mosul I have seen the fruit of the *Za'rur* (which I take to be very much the same as the *nebḳ*) offered for sale; Lane (*Dict.*, s.v.) describes the *za'rur* as a well-known fruit of two species, red and yellow, with a round hard stone, resembling the *nebḳ*, and now applied to the medlar. As sold in Mosul it is about the size of a shrapnel-bullet, spherical, about ½ in. in diameter, and yellowish-green in colour, what is most striking is that it is dry and has hardly any juice, being pithy or of a dryish pulp.[1] The plant is thorny, and hence the word *ašagu* "thorn" in the common Assyrian speech. Whether u*naniḳu*, by some curious change due to initial *n*, is the same word as *nebḳ* can hardly be settled. *Nannaru* (= *nanmaru* ?) is a possible parallel.

[a] *Kaziri* ([cuneiform] "juice" ?) from this and the following passage about opium must mean "juice". I was entirely wrong in *AH*. 43: the proper translation of the group u*kanašû tamšil* iṣu*NAM.TAR PA*pl*-šu siḫrûti*pl *ŠAL*pl *ka-zi-ri išâ*pl is "*kanašû* (opium-poppy), like mandrake (i.e. narcotic): its small and tender (?) capsules hold the juice" (*CT*. xiv, 22, vii–viii, 43). *ŠAL*pl = *sinnišâti* "female", which I have translated "tender" (without warranty) is difficult; it will be seen to occur also in the text about caper-buds a few lines further. The opium is collected by making incisions in the half-ripe capsule (Rhind, *Veg. Kingd.*, 547; A. R Neligan, *The Opium Question*, 14). [A similar phrase is used about a plant which may now definitely be considered the caper (*AH*. 81), *CT*. xiv, 18, rev xv–xvi, 12 u*Ahulap utliš* u*pirḫi ŠAR PA*pl*-šu siḫrûti*pl *ŠAL* pl ... *pl* (?) (re-examined) "The *Aḫulap*-plant, in common speech Caper, the small and tender (?) buds ." (i e used for pickle, cf. *CT*. xiv, 10, obv. 1, 6, restored from Meek, *RA*. 1920, 181, S 1701, and *CT*. xiv, 44, i, 18, u*nibi'* iṣu*NIM ina (tak)mil'i* "caper-buds in saltpetre")] However much we might like to see "female" used to mark the capsule of the poppy with its seeds, it is surely impossible to apply it to the caper-bud

[1] The old *Penny Cyclopædia*, 1843, xxvii, 789, describes the *Zizyphus spina Christi* as being covered with thorns, with drupe ovate-globose, the fruit being oblong, about the size of a sloe. This exactly fits the sling-bolt shape, which is usually that of an egg.

Fourthly we find ^{tak}*saggilmut* forming the "middle heaven", the upper heaven being of *luludanitu*-stone and the lower of *ašpû*-stone. (Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 33, l. 30 ff.)

Fifthly ^{tak}*saggilmut*, although used as a bead to dissipate sorcery (*AM.* 7, 1, 6), and one of the minerals against anything evil (*KAR.* 213, 2, 18), has no medical value.

To sum up our evidence: ^{tak}*saggilmut*, mentioned among hæmatites and pyrites, was to be found in a large tract of Eastern Arabia, probably Nejd: it is compared to the way in which lightning "leaps out" of the sun and returns to it; it is compared to a sling-bolt; it occupies the "middle heaven"; and it has no medical value.

This fits well with "thunderbolt" or meteorite in general, not omitting the erroneous popular belief in the West that certain nodules from the clay are "thunderbolts". True meteorites are undoubtedly common in the Near East; e.g. the black stone of the Kaaba at Mekka; the stone at Emesa; the Phrygian Cybele; the Diana of the Ephesians. There is also the tradition of the rain of stones in Arabia in the birth year of Muhammad,[1] and actually from Nejd has come a meteorite preserved in the British Museum.[2] Further East one of the earliest falls of stones took place in China about 644 B.C.[3]

Let us adhere to our theory that ^{tak}*saggilmut* is a thunderbolt true or false, eliminating any suggestion that it is merely meteoric iron, since *AN.BAR*, the proper word for iron, was long ago presumed to have been this, owing to the *AN* "heaven" in its composition. Indeed, at first sight, the very fact that ^{tak}*saggilmut* is compared to a sling-stone would hardly be in keeping with the *irregular-shaped* fragments of

[1] Quoted, Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament*, 1930, 339.

[2] L. Fletcher, *Int. to Study of Meteorites*, 1914, 71, quoting *Mineralog. Mag.*, vii, 179.

[3] See in general Fletcher, op. cit., 17; *Enc. Brit.*, xivth ed., vol. xv, s.v.; Bostock, *Pliny*, vol. i, 177. I am indebted to Dr. L. J. Spencer and Mr. W. Campbell Smith of the British Museum for much help in the matter.

meteorites,[1] but I think that there will be no ultimate difficulty in this. The fact that [tak]*saggilmut* occupies the middle heaven, and yet can "leap" about it, points to the real meteorite: it is the false one (far more common) which will explain the sling-stone, even if it be merely the shape, and not the motion, which is the base of the comparison.

Tradition in England regards the nodules of sulphide of iron as meteorites: "rounded nodules of sulphide of iron which weather out of the chalk on the S.E. coat of England" are "often called 'thunderbolts' and mistaken for meteorites".[2] These would be rightly compared to sling-bolts. From an article ("Pseudo-meteorites", *The Natural History Magazine*, iii, No. 18, 1931) by L. J. Spencer, it is obvious that a large number of minerals are miscalled meteorites, "thunderbolt," or "fireball". He says that "in the London district the most prolific pseudo-meteorites are the nodules of iron pyrites derived mainly from the Chalk. . . . They are found at many places on the south coast and on the Chalk Downs, and have long been popularly thought to be 'thunderbolts'. They are heavy (specific gravity 5), and when broken open show a radiating crystalline structure with brass-yellow colour and bright metallic lustre". The photographs which he gives of them show some to be almost spherical, about 1½ in. in diameter. One specimen of pseudo-meteorite which he describes in full is the Hang-chow "meteorite", said to have fallen in Hang-chow hundreds of years ago, and inscribed in Chinese with a poem, of which one interpretation shows that the stone ("the Black Tiger") was *lit up in the sun* after a great storm (ib., p. 47), which seems to hold a similar belief to that of the Assyrians. Mr. Spencer adds that, in ancient Chinese literature dating

[1] "Generally irregular" (*Enc. Brit*, loc. cit, 341); "always irregularly shaped fragments" (ib, 11th ed., vol xviii, 263)

[2] Ib, 14th ed., vol 15, 340. We may at once eliminate belemnites, of which the same tradition has been held, as not being of slingstone-shape

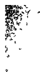
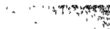
from Confucius, there are numerous records of stones falling from the sky, or of falling stars turned to stone.

With this superstition we can now turn back to Ḫazû, presumably Ḥaṣa in Nejd, where the *saggilmut*-mountain was. Pilgrim (*Memoirs of the Geol. Survey of India*, xxxiv, 101) says that the limestone of Qath (Oman) is full of iron nodules; Carter (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1859, 41; 1860, 239) says that the Arab coast of the Persian Gulf is a sedimentary formation resting upon volcanic rocks associated with beds of rock-salt, gypsum, sulphur, pyrites, specular iron ore, etc.[1] Clearly the Assyrian soldiery associated the nodules of Ḫazû with thunderbolts, repeating the popular error. The double belief (*a*) correct, that stones fell from heaven, (*b*) incorrect, that nodules of iron sulphide like sling-bolts also represented these, would thus appear to be combined in *taksaggilmut*. That the "middle heaven" contained *taksaggilmut* indicates the Assyrian belief for their provenance.

The word *taksaggil(i)mut* itself is difficult to explain philologically. Having regard, however, to its association in the lists with botryoidal forms, it is at least a coincidence that the Syr. *s'gûlâ*, similar in sound to the first two syllables, means "a bunch of grapes", which suggests a possible (certainly fanciful) translation "grapes of death" for the whole. Note also the Arab. *sijjîl*, mystic stones of clay, baked by the fire of hell, whereon were inscribed the names of people for whom they were destined (Lane, *Ar.-Eng. Lex.*, 1311). The custom of casting sling-bolts in lead with brief inscriptions on them is worth noticing in this connection.

I think we may still retain the translation "hail" for *abnu* "stone" in my *Reports*, Nos. 20 and 261 (referring to falls of *abnu*); the former is in an omen for the month Sebat, and the latter, also in Sebat, includes thunder. (Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*. 1922, 144.)

[1] This latter passage I owe to Boson, 388, quoted under copper.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THREE LETTERS FROM BUDDHIST KINGS TO THE CHINESE COURT IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

As early as 1880 the Rev. Joseph Edkins in his *Chinese Buddhism*,[1] stated that "the rapid advancement of Buddhism in China was not unnoticed in neighbouring kingdoms. The same prosperity that awoke the jealousy of the civil government in the country itself occasioned sympathy elsewhere. Many embassies came from the countries lying between India and China during the time of Sung Wen-ti, whose reign of more than thirty years closed in 453. Their chief object was to congratulate the ruling emperor on the prosperity of Buddhism in his dominions, and pave the way for frequent intercourse on the ground of identity in religion. Two letters of Pishabarma, King of Aratan, to this emperor are preserved in the history of this dynasty".

The two letters in question are to be read in the *Sung shu*,[2] one of the Annals, which treats of Chinese history from 420 to 478, under the section Biography 57, Book 97, entitled *Man i*,[3] or Barbarians. According to the text, Aratan[4] was a country situated in Jabo Island,[5] which is easily to be identified as the present island Java. Edkins, however, seems to have inferred that it was a country somewhere in India.

The text says that in the seventh year of Yuan-chia[6] (430) the King of Aratan sent an embassy to the court of Sung Wen-ti[7] with a tribute consisting of diamond rings, red peacocks, white thick cotton of Tien-chu[8] (India), cotton of Yueh-po country,[9] etc. In the tenth year (433)

[1] pp. 92–4.
[2] 宋書.
[3] 蠻夷傳.
[4] 呵羅單.
[5] 闍婆洲.
[6] 元嘉.
[7] 宋文帝.
[8] 天竺.
[9] 葉波國.

Pishabarma,[1] King of Aratan, sent another envoy to the same court with a memorial, which read as follows :—

"Your Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Ever Victorious! Our Buddha, the ever worshipful, happy and stable, with Three Divine Mysteries[2] and Six Supernatural Powers,[3] devoted his wisdom for the world. He is known as Ju-lai[4] (The Thus Come Buddha = Tathāgata) who attained Perfect Illumination[5]; and his remains were commemorated by erecting pagodas and statues in his peaceful country by the Himalaya.[6] [Now there is another country where] villages and towns are to be found scattered here and there, wide cities and majestic palaces are so magnificent that they are as if only to be found in Heaven. Strong armies are sufficient to pacify the murmuring enemies. The country is so prosperous that never has disaster happened. Following the unmistakable examples of former rulers in governing and cultivating the people of the country, everything is praiseworthy. As it lies on the shadow side of the snow mountain (Himālaya), the melted snow water, which is so tasteful and pure, flows into numerous rivers with full current, until it finally winds steadily to the great sea. All animate beings share their benefits. This country, superior to all others, is known as Chen-tan[7] (China).

"Your Majesty, the Emperor Ever Victorious, of the Great Sung House with its capital at Yang-chow,[8] succeeds to the throne with virtues approved by Heaven and benevolence appreciated by peoples within the Four Seas. With Your sagacious wisdom in ruling, not a single soul dares disobey. Although [you are] supported by peoples and protected by Heaven, Your deeds and virtues, being valuable for the salvation of the world, are the real merits

[1] 毗沙鼓摩.
[2] 三達
[3] 六通.
[4] 如來
[5] 正覺.
[6] 須彌山.
[7] 震旦.
[8] 揚州.

which made You our Honourable Lord, the Emperor Ever Victorious.

"With the greatest sincerity and humble salutation,

"I have the honour to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"Pishabarma, King of Aratan."

. . . . .

Afterwards Pishabarma's son supplanted him on the throne. In the thirteenth year (436) he again communicated in a memorial, saying :—

"Your Majesty, most fortunate Emperor! Abhoring lewdness, angry with ignorance and merciful to all animate beings, You enjoy to the full all that You want and like. You have honourably sacrificed to Heaven, Dragon, and God. Your dignity and virtue are as bright as the reflection of the moon in water and the sun just rising. Your universal illumination enlightens the ten directions as white as snow; it also resembles the moonlight in its purity and flowers in its colour. With such brilliant character and graceful manner, superior to those of Dragon and God in Heaven, You honourably revere the Jewel of the (Buddhist) religion,[1] with the support of numberless pure-hearted priests in Your peaceful country. Your people are prosperous, happy, and safe. The variegated garments which You wear are as beautiful as Heavenly robes. Your fortunate capital, the city of Yang-chow, superior to all nations, is adorned with so many stately houses and majestic palaces, with wide roads and flat streets, that it looks as high as the Ken-ta[2] mount; and it is so well guarded by sufficient soldiers that no anxiety need be entertained.

"Moreover, Your Majesty, being merciful to all animate beings and in order to content all Your peoples, rules with

[1] 法 寶 = Sanskrit *dharma-ratna*.

[2] 乾 他 山 (sc. Gandhamâdana).

streets, like the divine city. Your people are prosperous, happy, and safe When Your Majesty is on his travels, the people within the Four Seas follow. Owing to Your profound wisdom, love, and benevolence, and desire not to injure any animate beings, all the nations under Heaven come to You and pay their respect. Your nation is as rich as the sea: all Your subjects believe in Buddhism, the Highest Rule of all. By Your humane government You cultivate Your people in Excellent Principles. You mercifully extend Your charity without hesitation to all animate beings. Again, Your Majesty, venerating the Buddhist Doctrine and following the right Rules, acts as a Buddhist boat to save the lives of those who are being drowned. For these reasons You are not only supported by Your ministers and officials, who are happy and satisfied, but also protected by Heavens and Gods. And all ghosts and devils submit and surrender. Your body is majestic and powerful, like the rising sun. Your benevolence and charity, universally shared by all human beings, resemble a great cloud. Illustrious rulers, succeeding to the throne one after the other, are as bright as the sun and the moon. Indeed, this is the most distinctive and prosperous time ever seen in China.

"The country where I live is called Kapili, with the sea on the east. My capital city is surrounded by purple stone. This may be a first indication that my country is protected by Heaven and made safe and firm. My country has been ruled by Kings one after another without a break. All the subjects believe in Buddhism. Other nations come to us and worship Buddhistic laws as well. In the monasteries we maintain the statues of the Seven Precious Ones together with other minor gods, as did our ancestors. I myself conform to Buddhism and have never broken its law and prohibitions. My name is called Yueh-ai (Moon-love), a descendant of Śākya-muni. Now on behalf of this country I present to Your Majesty all my ministers, officials, people, mountains, rivers, treasures, and other things, subject to Your control.

I beg with the humblest sincerity to wish Yourself good health and your ministers and officials happiness.

"Owing to separation by mountains and seas, I have not been able to appear before You. However, in order to express my sincerity and respect, I now send a minister to represent me. His name is called Nitoda,[1] and that of his father Tienmoshida.[2] He is a man of good character and loyal to me ever since I knew him. So I select him as my representative. If Your Majesty needs any precious articles or other curious things, I will provide them with pleasure. From this soil the neighbouring region is Your country. As Your institutions and laws are perfect, I shall order my envoy to respect them without exception. Hereafter I hope that Your country and mine will maintain the most cordial relationship, and embassies should be sent to and fro without interval. When my envoy is coming back, I hope that You will send a representative to come with him, carrying Your Imperial Order as to what I should do; and assuredly I shall receive him with the utmost sincerity. I hope he will not go back without success. This is what I wish to say. I beg your compassionate consideration. Herewith I have the honour to present to Your Majesty diamond finger-rings, Mola [3] gold rings, other jewels, one red peacock, and one white peacock."

From the above three letters we learn, firstly, that Buddhism was so well developed in China at that time that she earned a far-reaching reputation among other Buddhistic nations. Secondly, it is apparent that communications between China and other, southern, nations beyond the sea were established with definite knowledge. Not only is this of interest in regard to Buddhism, but also it is of importance for the study of ethnic history. I am greatly indebted to Professor F. W. Thomas for his enthusiastic encouragement in carrying out this short translation; and his revision of some of the Buddhistic terms translated therein is of great weight to this paper.

CHUNGSHEE H. LIU.

[1] 尼陁達. [2] 天魔悉達. [3] 摩勒.

Note on Mr. Liu's Communication

The reference in Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism* (ed. 2, p. 92) to a king Pishabarma connects the king with the Himalayan regions; and, as the name has an aspect singularly appropriate to Khotan, I had, in drawing Mr. Liu's attention to the passage, some hope of light upon the history of Chinese Turkestan. Mr. Liu's rendering having shown that the reference is to Java, and the king Pishavarman having apparently escaped the notice of the historians of that island, a publication of what he has written will, no doubt, be welcome to scholars

The letters have been noted by Professor Pelliot in his article "Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde", published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. iv (1904, pp. 131 sqq., see pp. 271–2), where the location of Aratan (Ho-lo-tan) in Java is approved. The king Pishavarman is not there named; nor is there any reference to him in the essay of W. P. Groeneveldt ("Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca". in *Essays on Indo-China*, second series, vol. i, pp. 126 sqq.), which is frequently cited by Professor Pelliot, and to which Dr. Blagden also has drawn my attention. Groeneveldt does, however, cite an embassy of A.D. 435 from a Javanese king Śri-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo (Śrīpāda-Do-a-la-varman). The date of this mission, A.D. 435, being approximate to that (436) of Pishavarman's second letter, it must be inferred that either Pishavarman represents a different kingdom in Java or that Do-a-la-varman was the usurping son mentioned in the letter. Dr. Blagden notes the marked resemblance between Pishavarman's letters and some of the others given in Groeneveldt's article, a resemblance which in the case of a letter from Java, dated A.D. 575, approximates to identity We can conceive various explanations of such resemblances: the original form of the letters may have been prescribed or highly conventional, or the letters may have been judiciously edited by Chinese officials or historians. The decision between such possibilities may be obvious to

Sinologists; we need only observe that letters from other parts, Kan-da-li (Groeneveldt, pp. 186–7), Po-li (pp. 204–5), have very similar tenor.

Upon the substance of the letters from Pishavarman it is not necessary to comment. The name *Pishavarman*, if equivalent to Vṛṣavarman (which occurs in Nepal, Lévi, *Le Nepal*, index), would imply a Prakritism, abnormal in Malaisia; while, if its first member is non-Indian, the combination would, again, be unusual. As to the name of the king's envoy, *Pi-jen*, it resembles that of the "high official, Pi-yen-pa-mo", sent from Kan-da-li in the year A.D. 519 (p. 186).

The letter from the king of Ka-pi-li (A.D. 428) is likewise noted by Edkins (p. 94) and Professor Pelliot (p. 272). The latter observes that the equation *Kia-p'i-li* = *Kapilavastu* is wrong, since primarily *Kia-p'i-li* is for the Chinese = the Ganges; and he refers to a note by M. Sylvain Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, i, p. 307, where the matter is discussed. In the present instance the king's name, *Yueh-ai* = *Moon-love* = *Candrakānta* or *Śaśikānta*, affords no hold. A ruler of Kapilavastu in A.D. 428 should be a feudatory of Kumāragupta I; but there is no reason why such a feudatory should send an embassy to China, or should state that his country has the sea on the east or that his land has China for a neighbour; while the king's claim to be a descendant of Śākya-muni would be in keeping with the pedigrees attributed to rulers of states in Further India. By the time of Fa-Hian's visit to India the city of Kapila-vastu had become deserted; and Hiuan-Tsang's account is of like purport. The city was probably never "surrounded with purple stone". The names of the king's ministers, *Nitoda* and *Tienmoshida*, invite identification.

110. F. W. Thomas.

THE "IḤṢĀ' AL-'ULŪM"

The review by Principal A. Guillaume in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1933, of Professor Angel González Palencia's *Alfarabi Catálago de las Ciencias* (Madrid, 1932), dealing incidentally with my texts of the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* and *De scientiis* in the same journal, calls for attention.

As far back as 1924 I obtained a photostatic copy of the Escorial manuscript of the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*. This I collated at the time with the Najaf text of the same which had been given by the Shaikh Muḥammad Riḍā in the Arabic journal *Al-'Irfān* in the same year. It was not until 1929, however, that I began collating these two Arabic texts with the various Latin texts of *De scientiis*. At the end of 1930 I secured a copy of a third Arabic manuscript, that of the Köprülü Library at Constantinople, through the offices of my good friend Rauf Yekta Bey of the Conservatory of Music there. In July, 1931, I submitted an essay on the subject, together with the text of the Escorial manuscript, for the Thomas Hunter Weir Memorial Prize ("for original work in the field of Arabic studies") in the University of Glasgow. In September, 1931, Professor Palencia read a communication on the same subject before the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, when I showed him a copy of my prize essay mentioned above. It is to this that my esteemed friend Professor Palencia refers in his book (p. xiii), although the printers have managed to give the wrong initials of my forenames. In April, 1932, whilst I was working at the Egyptian National Library (*Dār al-kutub*) at Cairo, as President of the Commission of History and Manuscripts in the Congress of Arabian Music, I first became aware of 'Uthmān Muḥammad Amīn's edition of the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* which had been published in Cairo in the late autumn of 1931.

I mention these particulars because, as Principal Guillaume remarks, here is a work, the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, which

was allowed to lie "unheeded for centuries", and then quite a spate of workers, each toiling without knowing of the other's activities—viz., Professor Palencia, 'Uthmān Muḥammad Amīn, and myself—produce recensions of it within a few months of each other. Indeed, there is actually a fourth in Dr. E. A. Beichert who published his *Die Wissenschaft der Musik bei Al-Fārābī* (Regensburg, 1931) about the same time, although his brochure does not deal with the Arabic texts.[1]

Principal Guillaume says, "Strangely enough Dr. Farmer omits all mention of 'Uthmān [Muḥammad] Amīn's edition." In reply I can only say that I could scarcely mention a work that was issued after I had written my essay on the subject and of the existence of which I only knew when too late to be used in my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. I am grateful to Principal Guillaume, however, for his calling attention to an occasional *lapsus calami* as well as to the differences in the Latin text of Gerard of Cremona as given by Professor Palencia and me. Whilst several of these, in my text, are typographical errors, others are due to my faulty reading of the text, Professor Palencia's version being correct.

As to the Arabic text, Professor Palencia has certainly produced a very faithful rendering of the Escorial manuscript. Yet I cannot agree with Principal Guillaume's statement that the erudite Spanish Arabist has produced "an edition that will supersede its predecessors", or that we need not have "any misgivings about the accuracy of the text as a whole". The fact is that both the Najaf text of Muḥammad Riḍā and the Cairo text of 'Uthmān Muḥammad Amīn are undoubtedly better than the Escorial text.

Indeed, there are still two other documents to be collated ere we can hope to have a really definitive edition of the

[1] Dr. Beichert has included an excursus on the word *neuma* as an addendum to his brochure. He does not, however, refer to my treatment of the question in my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, 1930, pp. 163–4), although he quotes from this work on other matters.

BUDDHO OR *SUDDHO* ?

There is in the Fours of the Anguttara-Nikāya, the fourth of the Pali Āgamas, a Sutta unique in form, called *Loke*. (This is more likely to have been a Magadhese nominative, than a Pali locative : "the world," not "in", or "as to the world".) Opening with a legendary reference to the footmarks of the Śākyamuni, Doṇa, a brahman, asks the former how he expects to be reborn (lit. become). The reply is to the effect that he will not be reborn as *X*, *Y*, or *Z*, because, just as a lotus gets no smear from contact with water, so he gets no smear from contact with the world, and "*therefore* am I *buddho*".[1] So the verses ; the preceding prose is in keeping with this, but for the last clause has a separate sentence "consider me as *buddho*." [2]

I suggest it is here more likely that the word *buddho*, in older, if not original versions of the Saying, was *suddho* : pure, clean. Certainly the context calls for it, in a way it does *not* call for "awake" or "wise", much less for an honorific title. The association, too, of *suddho*, *suddhi* with not spiritual purity only, but with salvation, in both Vedic and Pali literature is well known. But the Suttas, in getting sorted together at some occasion of the kind, may conceivably have borrowed from juxtaposition, oral and aural, if not yet in written order. And the Sutta preceding this one ends with verses ascribing repute among men in a man possessed of four qualities. As such he is "buddho, in his last body, very wise, great man". A reverberation from this may have affected the present Sutta. And, in the growing Buddha-cult (of which the First and Second Councils show no trace), it is possible, that a personal ascription to himself of the term *buddho* by the Founder may have been judged to be a much more edifying way of teaching than to observe a careful con-

[1] *Tasmā buddho'smi brāhmaṇa !*
[2] *Buddho ti maṃ brāhmana dharehiti.*

gruity with the context,[1] and to be also a more "up-to-date" predication. Conceivably the shifting from *suddho* to *buddho* here may not for many *bhāṇakas* have been the jolt there seems to be to us. I note that the compound *śuddhabuddhi* is not unknown in Sanskrit literature, the reference in Bothlingk and Roth being to a work *Ashtav.* of which I have no knowledge. Anyway it is not here a clerical error that we are up against. It is rather the need of giving fuller verbal expression to the growing value in the supermanhood of the Founder. No one yet knows when this began to find expression in such words as Tathāgato and Buddho.

175 C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

The English Factories in India

In the 1634–6 volume of this series I reproduced, as frontispiece, an engraving, from the Schleswig edition (1658) of Mandelslo's *Morgenländische Reyse*, which I supposed to represent the English factory at Surat in 1638. In the German work the plate comes in the middle of the page and bears no title; and my identification of its subject was based upon the context and upon certain statements in the introduction as to the sources of the illustrations. I have now discovered that I was wrong in my deductions, and that the building depicted was the *Dutch* factory, as it was about 1628.

The original source of the engraving is a plate in Pieter van den Broecke's *Korte Historiael ende Journaelsche Aenteyckeninghe*, published at Amsterdam (and also at Haarlem) in 1634. This clearly represents the Dutch factory at Surat, and was presumably drawn when Van den Broecke was there

[1] A somewhat similar preference for edification over congruity is suggested by our own long acquiescence in the rendering. "Search the scriptures . . ." (John v, 39) for "Ye search the scriptures . . . yet ye will not come to *me* . . ." now adopted in the Revised Version.

in 1620–8. The plate was used again in the *Begin ende Voortgang* (1646). Mandelslo's editor, when he decided to copy it, caused a fresh drawing to be made, in which certain details were suppressed and the figures in the foreground were altered; but the building itself is unmistakable.

I much regret this error, which has, I fear, misled others. I can only ask all concerned to accept my apologies, and beg those who possess copies of my volume to alter the title of the frontispiece accordingly.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1930. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xi + 148, figs. 4, pls. 6. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1932.

This is the fifth volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, published by Professor Vogel with the aid of the Editorial Board, Professors Kramers and Krom and Dr. Hermann Goetz, who has lately succeeded as Secretary Dr. C. L. Fábri, now a personal assistant of Sir Aurel Stein. We are now getting used to the regular appearance of these magnificent and indispensable volumes; we are perhaps even getting somewhat spoilt by the generosity with which Professor Vogel and his colleagues are spending upon us their precious information. Still let us never forget that profound gratitude under which they have placed us by their immense and painstaking labour, which makes it possible to publish every year one of the most important contributions to Indology appearing at the present time.

A survey of the excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa—based chiefly on information obtained from Mr. Longhurst—forms the first part of the Introduction. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa at one time apparently was an important centre of South Indian Buddhism, and no less than one large and several smaller *stūpas*, six temples, and four monasteries have been unearthed by Mr. Longhurst and his assistants. These are here described somewhat in detail. A relic—a tiny piece of bone—was found enclosed in a gold box which was again contained in a silver casket completely crushed by the pressure from above. The inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa have been published in an excellent way by Professor Vogel in the *Epigr. Indica*, xx, 1 seq.

The second paper included in the introduction deals with the preservation of ancient monuments within the realm of H.E.H. the Nizām. The necessary repairs of the year were performed at the fort and other buildings at Bidar and further at Ajaṇṭā, Ellora, and Palampet. At Bidar a heap of ruins was cleared up which had formerly been known as the Zenāna Mahal; and the reason for this was that its upper storey contained those screened windows called *jālīs* so well known under the name of *jāla* from the classical poets of India.[1] The clearing up, however, proved it to have originally been a magnificent audience hall of the Bidar princes. Every scholar interested in India will also be charmed to learn that the frescoes at Ajaṇṭā have now been so well dealt with by the conservators that they are likely to last for another couple of centuries.

Mr. Longhurst during 1930 visited the rock-cut temple of Sitannavāsal and inspected the frescoes preserved—or nowadays at least partly spoilt—on its walls and ceilings. I am under the impression that something concerning Sitannavāsal should be found in one of the very numerous volumes of the Mackenzie Collection; but I am quite prepared to admit that my memory may fail me on that point. Anyhow, I miss in Mr Longhurst's article a reference to the paper by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the *IA.*, lii, 45 seq. Speaking of the scene depicted in pl. v, the author describes it as "a Lotus Pond, covered with pink lotus flowers and green leaves with fish and waterfowl swimming and feeding in the water, while elephants, cattle, and three men are shown bathing in the pond. The men appear to be meant for Jains, two are shown with dark skins and one is as fair as a European". Why the men should be Jains utterly baffles me, and besides it would be rather improbable, not to say impossible, to imagine Jain ascetics bathing in cold water.

The remaining papers deal with Further India and Indonesia

[1] Cf e g. *Meghadūta*, vv. 34, 68, 89.

and contain many notices of uncommon interest. The discovery by M. Sylvain Lévi of the Buddhist text illustrated on the basement of Barabuḍur is well remembered by readers of the *Annual Bibliography* for the year 1929. Now Dr. F. D. K. Bosch has succeeded in identifying the scenes represented on the walls of the third and fourth galleries, they being fetched from the *Bhadrachari*, the concluding part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. In this way all the endless scenes depicted on the walls of this most marvellous monument will finally be identified with episodes on record in various Buddhist texts.

The bibliography contains 929 numbers and could not well be more complete and admirable.

We cherish the well-founded hope that during next year we shall have in our hands another volume of the imposing series published by Professor Vogel and his colleagues. Holland, that has always been a true republic of humanists, has given also to the comparatively young science of Indology a series of very weighty contributions, and some leading Sanskritists, such as Kern and the late lamented Professor Caland, have been Dutchmen. These traditions are splendidly upheld by Professor Vogel and his colleagues, who have reason to expect a deep feeling of gratitude and every possible help from their fellow-scholars.

666 JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN MUSLIM RELIGIOUS ART. By SIR THOMAS W. ARNOLD. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xii + 48, ills. 19. London: Oxford University Press, 1932. 6*s*.

When Sir Thomas Arnold died in June, 1930, he had not completed the revision of his Schweich Lectures, given to the British Academy in 1928, nor had he chosen the illustrations. This task was entrusted to Professor H. A. R. Gibb, and there is no reason to think that Sir Thomas would have

found fault with his editor's choice. These lectures form a supplement to Arnold's previous writings on a subject peculiarly his own. His thesis is that religious art in Islam derived from Christian painters' treatment of similar themes. Orthodox Islam being entirely hostile to the painters' art, they could get no guidance in painting the sacred stories which Islam took over from Judaism, except from Christian art. Arnold's view is that the Christian art taken for models was not Byzantine art but the art of the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches; and he brings forward striking evidence to show how high was the proportion of Christians to the population in the Muhammadan East. There follows a detailed examination of the subjects painted by Muslim artists in illustration of Old and New Testament stories, often with amusing deviations from the version given in the Bible. All this, the result of years of searching by Arnold in the libraries of Europe, is of great value to students. It is a pity, by the way, that the list of illustrations gives no references to the MSS. from which they are taken: for these one has to search the text. Arnold points out that Muhammad took little interest in the Old Testament history after the time of Moses, except for the story of Solomon. He also notes that "the Muslim artists never worked out a distinctive type in their representation of Jesus". The concluding pages of the book, which is full of interesting facts and suggestions, deal with the imitations of Christian paintings and engravings by artists of the Mughal school in India.

The little work renews our sense of the loss which befell the world of scholarship when Arnold died.

682

R. Laurence Binyon.

PERSIAN POETRY IN INDIA. By SYED HASHIMI. The Poetry Review, July–August, 1932. 9 × 5¾, pp. 284–302 (18). London: Poetry Society, 1932. 1s. 3d.

In this paper, originally read before the Open Centre of the Poetry Society in Hyderabad (Deccan), the author gives a sketch of the achievements of some of the leading Persian poets of Indian origin up to the eighteenth century. Actually he goes a little beyond his limit, including, for instance, a notice of Sayyid 'Alī Judā'ī—better known as a painter than as a poet—who was a Persian by birth.

The article is too brief for much detail to be attempted, but it is well worth reading as a skilful summary, by a scholar who knows his subject thoroughly, of an interesting side of Persian literary history. Persian poetry in India covers a vast field, and though the Indian writers evolved a language which Persians find difficulty in understanding, the catalogue includes some names which cannot be omitted from any representative list of writers of Persian poetry; Amīr Khusrau, Ḥasan of Delhi, Faiẓī, and Bedil, at any rate, have reputations which are certainly not confined to India; and in view of the tendency of some European scholars to overlook their claims, it is gratifying to find them authoritatively vindicated in an English journal of distinction.

665. J. V. S. WILKINSON.

EARLY INDIAN ARCHITECTURE. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. Eastern Art, Volume III, 1931. III.—Palaces. 12 × 9, pp. 180–217 (42), figs. 84. Philadelphia: College Art Association, 1931.

It would be difficult to commend too highly this study, which is an archæological contribution of the first importance. It takes the form of a survey and compendium of the relevant passages in Sanskrit and Pali literature on the structure

and functions of the *prāsāda*, considered here as the palace of the king or the dwelling-place of the rich man. The literary references are tested by comparison with the existing monuments of antiquity, and also with the later architecture in which old forms are found surviving. Dr. Coomaraswamy notices, for instance, that the *jharokhā*-portrait of the Mughal period traces back to very ancient times, the window being used and designed for the great man to show himself to the people.

Like the rest of the series of which it forms the third part, this essay is written in the most concise manner possible, with numerous references. It constitutes a valuable source-book for students of a subject which has never received comprehensive treatment.

The Indian palace, in its typical form, was—and still is—a group of buildings enclosed by an outer rectangular wall, within which was a series of courts, containing stables, gardens, parade grounds, temples, a judgment hall, and other edifices. The palace itself was a storeyed building of considerable complexity. All its chief elements are here briefly analysed, the longest account being that of the arched window, the most interesting palace feature, perhaps also, as Dr. Coomaraswamy suggests, the most characteristic, though its simple character changed in later times, blossoming into surprising efflorescences. The *śikhara*, about which so many theories have been propounded, may, he thinks, have grown out of a decorative reduplication of roof units, retaining niches from which sculptured faces generally look out.

The article is illustrated by several beautiful collotype plates and many figures.

735 J. V. S. WILKINSON.

COMMENTARY OF SKANDASVĀMIN AND MAHEŚVARA ON THE NIRUKTA CHAPTERS II–VI. Critically edited . . . by LAKSHMAN SARUP. 9¾ × 6½, pp. xviii + 508. Lahore (University of the Panjab), 1931; London: Arthur Probsthain. 10s.

In 1920 and 1921, Professor Lakshman Sarup published, under the title *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta* . . . edited . . . and translated . . . with Introduction . . . Three Indexes and . . . Eight Appendices, the first two parts of the undertaking defined by this title, namely the Introduction and the English Translation. In 1927, he completed the undertaking by publishing under the same title the text itself. Some of the promised indices and appendices were printed with the translation and the text. The remainder formed a separate volume of *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, published in 1929. But already in 1920 he had announced that a friend of his from Lahore had recently informed him that he had obtained a complete manuscript of a commentary by Skandasvāmin. The announcement was of great interest, because Devarājayajvan, the commentator on the *Nighaṇṭu*, constantly cites a Skandasvāmin whom he names as the author of a *Nirukta-ṭīkā*, and the inference was that a manuscript of this work was for the first time[1] available. It was inevitable that Professor Lakshman Sarup should follow up this discovery at an early opportunity. But when next he referred to it (by implication), in 1927, he seemed to have come to the conclusion that the ascription to Skandasvāmin was a mistake: for he said in the preface to the text of the *Nirukta*, published in that year, that "No MS. of Skanda's commentary on the *Nirukta* has yet come to light" (p. 25), and he speaks of having collated "three manuscripts of the commentary of

[1] Professor Lakshman Sarup stated in 1920 (*Introduction to the Nirukta*, p. 49 and footnote 4) that Aufrecht notices a MS. of the work in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I can find no such notice in Aufrecht. The only MS. registered by him is one listed in Keilhorn's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces* (Nagpur, 1874, p. 8).

Maheśvara " (p. 32) for a forthcoming edition. The edition referred is that of which the second part (chapters ii–vi) is now published, the first part having been published in 1928, and reviewed in the issue of this JOURNAL for July, 1929 (pp. 621–2). This commentary, based on the three MSS. described in 1927 as manuscripts of the commentary of Maheśvara (one of which is that discovered and announced in 1920 as being Skanda's commentary) is now published as "the commentary of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara". What this exactly means was explained by Professor Lakshman Sarup in the introduction to the first part of the commentary, where he says (after giving reasons): "This commentary is therefore not the work of Skanda. The only other hypothesis possible is that Maheśvara is the author. . . . But there is a serious difficulty. All the extant MSS. attribute some portions of the commentary to Skanda . . . In my opinion the difficulty is solved if we presume that Maheśvara's commentary is a *ṭīkā* on the *bhāṣya* of Skanda . . ." He then gives a parallel passage from this commentary and from a citation of Skanda in Devarājayajvan, which indicates that this *ṭīkā* draws materials from Devaraja's Skandasvāmin. In the preface to the present publication he traverses a statement made by the late Hannes Skold in his *Untersuchungen zur Genesis der altindischen etymologischen Litteratur* (1928), that he had been informed that the 1920 report of a discovery of Skandasvāmin's commentary was false. Professor Lakshman Sarup takes this as a reflection on the truth of the announcement that a MS. of a work ascribed to Skanda had been discovered. But it seems plain that Sköld intended merely to express disbelief in the accuracy of the ascription of the work to Skandasvāmin; a disbelief which Professor Lakshman Sarup has himself expressed in unambiguous terms. Whatever may be its relation to Skanda, the new commentary, the publication of the first half of which has reached completion in the present volume, is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

602.

H. N. RANDLE.

also gives interesting information about the death and funeral ceremonies, and other matters of the particular form of Buddhism which is followed in those parts.

533. E. H. C. WALSH.

THE KEYS OF POWER. A Study of Indian Ritual and Belief. By T. ABBOTT. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 560. London: Methuen and Co., 1932. 21*s*.

This interesting volume dealing with primitive belief and custom in the Bombay Presidency, compiled by a member of the Indian Civil Service, who shows his devotion to the subject-matter of his work by seeking information more from original sources than from published works on Indian folklore, is introduced to the public as follows :—

" This original work," we are told, " demonstrates how the control of certain '-isms ' has for long moulded the interpretation of Indian belief and ritual by Western writers. In every chapter there is some new co-ordination daringly iconoclastic of accepted theory, whilst the new wealth of customs carefully recorded is astonishing. Long-disputed problems such as that of the Marātha *devak* or that of the ceremonial sowing of seedlings known to Western readers as the ' garden of Adonis ' have at last been settled."

The writer of this panegyric appears to have been more anxious to proclaim the merits of the work than to examine the basis of the claims advanced for its acceptance. Briefly, the chief difference between the present work and a vast mass of similar material already at the finger-ends of students of Indian folklore lies in the substitution of the term *sakti* or " power " for the more usual expression of " spirit ". In the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* will be found Campbell's remarkable notes on the " spirit basis of belief and custom ". By substituting *sakti* for " spirit ", *barkat* for " good spirit ", and *harkat* for " bad spirit ", the writer gives us at great length much

that is already familiar ground. The question involved, to be fair, is not an easy one to decide. It partakes much of the nature of psychology. Do, indeed, the *Katkaris*, a Bombay tribe which has been intensively studied by Mr. Abbott, when they suffer from some misfortune, attribute the cause, in their minds, to a power inherent in some familiar object, or, as Campbell would say, to a spirit, probably an ancestral spirit ?

A careful study of Mr. Abbott's materials leaves a strong impression that the novelty claimed for his conclusions is by no means so obvious as the publishers announcement leads one to suppose. We are asked to conceive power without assuming that it must, in the mind of the *Katkari*, as of other primitive tribes, be understood as the form of energy of some kind of spirit. We fail to find in this work any adequate reason for rejecting the more probable assumption, though the task of fathoming the mental processes of the untutored Indian is confessedly beset with difficulties. Where Mr. Abbott refers to the spirit theories of belief and custom, as in the footnote 3 to p. 479, he dismisses them with a mere negative, which is not wholly convincing. The writer deals in a similar off-hand fashion with the late W. Crooke (p. 267, note).

The author of this work is curiously contemptuous of many of his predecessors in this line of research, but to the author of *Bombay Folklore* he is good enough to devote a whole chapter in his attempt to prove to the reader that the nature of the Marātha *devak* has hitherto been wholly misunderstood, and that enlightenment is now available.

In Chapter XXIV Mr Abbott deals with the subject of totemism and the Marātha *devak*. The chapter is a reprint of an article published in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*. It is followed by an appendix giving a valuable list of *devaks* identified by the writer in the course of personal investigations. Characteristically Mr. Abbott omits all reference to previously published lists of *devaks*. Further, he adds a

number of *devaks* which he describes as not identifiable, apparently overlooking the fact that some of them have already been identified. The lists are, however, a most useful contribution to the study of this difficult subject, though it may perhaps be suggested that they would be much more readily accessible to students if arranged in alphabetical order. Cross-references would also have been of great value in the case of the *devaks* which are known by several vernacular names.

To sum up, Mr. Abbott's novel study of the meaning of the well-known practice of *devak* worship, to which attention was first drawn by Sir James Campbell in his volume on Kolhapur in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, it seems that *devaks* cannot be totems because in many cases they now lack several of the attributes of the true totem. The *devak* does not always regulate marriage, it is not invariably worshipped at weddings, and frequently it is not regarded as an ancestral spirit. Mr. Abbott tells us that " it is easy to find families of Mores who have as their *devak* the *mor* or peacock ; to find Sālunkes with the *Salunki* bird as their *devak*, Selars with the *Seli* or black she-goat, and Kalambes with the *Kalamb* tree ". This should surely give him cause for thought. But no—it seems that sometimes the Selars have a *devak* which is *not* the *Seli*. " No principle, in fine," says the writer, " of totemism rules the adoption or the abandonment of a *devak*." So, we are told, the problem of the *devak* is nothing more than the Hindu practice of invoking *sakti* into symbols, the practice of *āvāhana*. Here Mr. Abbott discloses the underlying weakness of his whole laboriously erected construction tending to bring to one novel and concise explanation the vast volume of primitive practice with which he deals, We are to look to orthodox Hinduism for the origin of the beliefs and practices of *Katkaris* and other primitive tribes. It does not appear to have occurred to Mr. Abbott that so far from helping us to explain the *Katkaris* practices, Hinduism is the main factor which obscures this origin and tends to mislead all but the

most cautious investigators. An archæologist in modern Rome, who happened to find a sash window in a building which displayed below its basement the foundations of a Roman villa, would be chary of assuming that sash windows were common in the days of the Flavian emperors. Mr. Abbott, to put our criticism briefly, has devoted much time and trouble to explaining practices which are clearly pre-Hindu in origin by the forms and practices of Brahmanistic teaching which have altered and frequently superseded them. The invocation of the *sakti* of a deity into a symbol, which (p. 453) is Mr. Abbott's explanation of the meaning of a *devak*, does not appear at all convincing. Let us look farther afield and not ignore such people as the Oraons, the Hos, the Mundas of Bengal, or the Kurumbas of Madras. In these and in a very great number of similar cases drawn from all over India we may hope to find such evidence as remains after the lapse of centuries of the original nature of the *devak* system which has been discovered in the Bombay Presidency. It is obviously misleading to attempt to explain a *devak* by modern practice and belief entirely. It is clearly a system of which only fragments remain for identification, and these fragments may best be identified by seeking parallels among the most primitive tribes in all parts of India, instead of applying to the Hinduism of the Aryan invader for a key to a door which it could not possibly unlock.

If space were available, it would be interesting to follow Mr. Abbott's theories of the reason for marrying bachelors to trees before they marry a widow, and for similar marriages in the case of those who die unwedded. His assertion, made apparently with some reluctance, that "the mock marriage of a dead person is the only form of mock marriage in which the fear of ghostly persecution is at all admitted and even in this there is no question of persecution by the ghost of the deceased partner" is strangely at variance with most of the recorded evidence. It is argued that these mock marriages are the result of a fear of the power of numbers.

We must be excused for hesitating to accept such an explanation when a far more plausible reason for the practice has been advanced by writers of considerable eminence.

We could wish that Mr. Abbott, who gives us so much that is new in the way of Hindu and Muhammadan charms (pp. 136–148, 306–7, and Appendix A), could have elaborated his reference to the *Svastika* and other Sun signs on p. 373. We have here a possible link with the culture of Sumer and Akkad.

We must confess to being somewhat puzzled by the translation (p. 385) of the Kanarese word *yelu* as eleven, and the meaning attached (p. 208) to *hotteyolage*. *Yelu* does not mean eleven. The pages contain so much vernacular that the book will, it is feared, prove somewhat trying to folk-lore scholars who have no close knowledge of the Indian vernaculars; and the short glossary at the commencement is likely to offer but scant assistance to them. Mr. Abbott, in a short preface, states that few references will be found to customs collected by other writers and this "because I cannot but think that the circular questionnaire which has so often been the means of gathering information (i.e. Crooke's) has led to many errors! This seems a somewhat startling paraphrase of the suggestion that only Mr. Abbott's investigations are reliable, and is in somewhat doubtful taste.

We may, however, admit that the work is one which deserves very careful study. If its conclusions in nearly all instances signally fail to carry conviction, the new materials collected by the writer and embodied in these pages are worthy of a more cordial welcome than that which he is disposed to accord to the works of his many predecessors in similar lines of research.

641. R. E. Enthoven.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. 8 × 5½, pp. ix + 190. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932. 6s. net.

The completion of the systematic survey of Tribes and Castes set on foot by Risley in 1901, based on a definite scheme or questionnaire, for which he, Ibbetson, and Nesfield were responsible, has been marked by the appearance of a number of works dealing with caste on less definite lines, and attempting to convey to the public a general impression of caste customs and organization as they strike the authors of these less technical contributions to the subject.

The present work is the latest of such volumes. In it Mr. O'Malley who, as a member of the Indian Civil Service, has had first-hand access to his sources of information, aims at describing the working of the caste system in the hope of adding to the ordinary man's knowledge of this peculiar form of social organization, and of enabling him to form a sound judgment both of its merits and defects. Mr. O'Malley has done his work well, and has furnished the general reader with a handy little introduction to some of the infinite complexities of caste problems, which should serve to prepare him for the study of the more detailed and lengthier records of the ethnographical survey of India. For those at all familiar with the subject, this book contains little that is new. It would have been useful to have included a bibliography of important works on Tribes and Castes to facilitate a more profound study of the questions involved. Within the limits set for himself the writer has been able only to offer a rapid summary of many interesting features of caste practice. On p. 83 it is interesting to note that a penance for adultery of a strikingly original type, which has already been brought to notice in Bombay, has its parallel in the Punjab, among the Chamars. A reference on p. 91 to the recent Sarda Act corroborates the conclusion of a former census commissioner for India regarding the apparent disproportion between married Hindu women and Hindu

men, which recently led a writer to suggest to *The Times* that polyandry was on the increase in India. It is clear that illegal infant marriages of girls are now veiled by describing the brides as unmarried, thus satisfying the requirements of both recent law and ancient custom. Some remarks on untouchability and its future prospects under a system of *swaraj*, p. 159, will be read with general interest, as also a thoughtful chapter on Modern Tendencies, with which the writer brings his short treatise to a close. It would be well if reformers who contemplate an India with caste barriers and restrictions in decay would pause occasionally to consider the history of past reformations directed against caste, such, for instance, as Lingāyatism. Even Christianity, in Portuguese India, has not freed itself wholly from caste distinctions; and the possibility of a non-caste Hinduism for the continent of India may well give rise to profound apprehensions, for, to quote Mr. O'Malley, "for the majority of Hindus, caste is the sphere within which morality operates . . . It does its best work as a guardian of morality."

694 R. E. Enthoven.

India, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc.

By C. O. Blagden

1. Compagniesbescheiden en aanverwante archivalia in Britsch-Indië en op Ceylon. Door Mr. J. van Kan. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 253. Batavia · G. Kolff & Co., 1931.

This catalogue of official records, etc., of the Dutch East India Company represents the results of an inquiry commissioned in 1929–30 by the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies and conducted by the author. The scope of the investigation is explained and discussed in the Introduction, which *inter alia* brings out the fact that only a small proportion of the archives left behind by the Dutch in India

and Ceylon has been preserved. Nevertheless, the catalogue is a fairly large one. It covers documents kept in the Imperial Record Office and the Bengal Secretariat Record Room, Calcutta, the Bombay Government Records, the Madras Record Office, the Cochin Darbar archives at Ernakulam, some smaller collections at Madras, Calcutta, Cochin, Patna and Tuticorin, Goa and Pondichéry, Government and Church archives at Colombo, the latter also at Galle and Matara, and a few documents in the Colombo Museum Library.

Many of the papers listed are of considerable historical interest or importance; and the catalogue entries, though mostly very concise, give a clear indication of their main purport. Indexes of persons, places, and subject matter facilitate reference for purposes of research; and altogether the book is a well arranged production.

491

2. De Buddhistische Kunst van Voor-Indië. Door Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 96, pls. 43. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1932. F. 1.95.

This little volume is No. 13 of a series of monographs issued under the general title of " De Weg der Menschheid ", of which about half are concerned with matters of Oriental interest, e.g. Palestine, Egypt, Chinese philosophy, the Javanese temple of Barabudur, Japanese religion, and Christian and Muslim mysticism. No one is better qualified than Professor Vogel to write a manual of Buddhist art in India for Dutch readers, and he has performed his task in an exemplary manner. After a brief introductory chapter, mainly on the life of Buddha, he proceeds in the succeeding chapters to deal with the early Buddhist monuments from the time of Aśoka to 50 B.C., the Hellenistically influenced art of Gandhāra, the sculptures of Mathurā under the Kushāns, the art of Amarāvatī and its neighbourhood, the golden age of the Gupta dynasty, the Buddhist cave temples (50 B.C.

to A.D. 700), and the period of decadence and renaissance (A.D. 600–1200). Then follow a short bibliography and a list of the plates.

These are well selected and beautifully executed. In a work of such small size it was obviously impossible to do more than choose typical specimens, and that is what the author has done. In his text he gives us not merely an historical and descriptive account of the development of Buddhist art in India, but also maintains a critical attitude which helps the reader to understand the changes of style and treatment illustrated by the plates. His judgment is fairly balanced; he is not a partisan, either of the school which sees nothing good in Indian art other than that of Gandhāra, or of the one which fails to realize that without the Gandhāra phase Indian art could not have developed as it did. He gives each successive period its due, and even the most bigoted anti-Gandhārian should be satisfied with his high appreciation of the more characteristically Indian work of the later ones, especially the golden age of the Guptas, as he styles it. In short, Professor Vogel's work is a model of what such a small handbook should be; and not its least merit is that it is perfectly intelligible to a non-expert reader.

61S.

3. INDOCHINE. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de M. SYLVAIN LÉVI. 2 vols., 11 × 9, pp. 232, pls. 14 (including 2 coloured), pp. 215, pls. 13 (including 2 coloured). Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1931.

This work, which is published as one of a series issued under the auspices of the Commissariat Général of the International Colonial Exhibition held in Paris in 1931, challenges comparison with the somewhat larger and more sumptuously illustrated production on the same subject reviewed in our JOURNAL in the July part of that year.

The first volume, the more interesting of the two from the point of view of Oriental studies, is provided with a preface by the general editor, M. Sylvain Lévi, and includes chapters on the country and its people (Charles Robequain), the population, under the aspects of race, language, and culture (J. Przyluski), ancient history (Louis Finot), modern history (André Masson), religions (Paul Mus), literatures (Maurice G. Dufresne, George Coedès, and Paul Mus), and art and archæology (Victor Goloubew), each chapter concluding with a bibliography.

It is needless to say that this strong team has produced a volume that is not only interesting but authoritative. All the above-mentioned chapters give within a necessarily limited space a clear and up-to-date account of the matters with which they deal. The bibliographies are a useful feature, but do not in all cases profess to be exhaustive ; in fact, the one appended to M. Przyluski's article contains only three entries. But these include a reference to vol. i of the larger work indicated above. I notice that this author prefers to class Annamese and Cham with the Austroasiatic languages, although the former is a tone language (in which particular, as well as in a good part of its vocabulary, it shows connection with Tai) and the latter is to a great extent Austronesian in composition. But he would apparently like to make the Tai group Austroasiatic also, while suspending judgment on that point. In the chapters on religion and art and archæology, the new view which dates Angkor Thom, with the Bayon, about half a century later than Angkor Wat is definitely accepted as established.

The second volume consists of official statements on the administrative and political organization of the country, the army and navy, judicial and financial systems, posts, telegraphs and telephones, trade and chambers of commerce, agriculture, cattle rearing and forestry, hunting and fishing, mines, education, medical services, labour laws, geographical and topographical surveys, the École Française d'Extrême-

Orient, its publications and other activities, and the libraries, archives, learned societies, journals, and periodicals of the country generally, concluding with seven pages of population statistics. This volume constitutes, therefore, a useful work of reference on many different subjects.

I have noticed few misprints. On p. 52 of vol. i, *pâr* should be *p-âr* (i.e. *paär*, the word being of two syllables). Near the bottom of p. 38 in the same volume a line is repeated and something is consequently missing. The first two lines of p. 26 of vol. ii should have appeared at the top of p. 25. The illustrations, though not numerous, are very good. A map and an index would have been useful additions; but the two tables of contents are somewhat more detailed than the mere lists of chapter headings which usually serve as such.

495.

4. INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMBODGE. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Par LOUIS FINOT. Tome V. 13 × 9¾, pp. v, pls. 42. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931.

Previous parts of this work have been noticed in our JOURNAL. This fifth part follows the lines of its predecessors, the plates being clear and the scale not unduly small. The only letterpress consists of the titles and the list of plates, the whole being contained in a portfolio, so that each piece can be taken out separately.

584.

5. ACTES DU XVIII^e^ CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ORIENTALISTES—LEIDEN 7–12 SEPTEMBRE, 1931. By The Executive Committee. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. vi + 275. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1932.

This volume evokes pleasant memories of the excellent organization, kindly hospitality, and interesting papers and discussions which characterized the Oriental Congress of

1931. Its transactions, after a short preface which mentions amongst other things that it was attended by 574 out of its 651 enrolled members, give the usual details as to the constitution of the committees and sections, followed by a list of delegates, and then proceeds to an account of the general sessions, excursions, and entertainments, and a list of the publications presented to the Congress. The most important parts of this portion of the record are the speeches of the President, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, and the resolutions forwarded by the sections and confirmed by the Advisory Committee and the Congress in its final session.

The greater part of the volume is, however, taken up by the proceedings of the several sections, viz. of Assyriology, Egyptology, Western and Central Asia, the Far East and Indonesia, India, the Semitic languages and peoples, the Old Testament and Judaism, Islam, and finally an independent section devoted to Papyrology. Over 150 of the communications offered in these sections are represented by abstracts or extracts; some of these are very brief, but in a good many cases there is an indication of where the full text may be found in print. Some account of the Congress, and especially of the proceedings of the Islam section, has appeared in the January, 1932, part of our JOURNAL. This was the strongest section from the point of view of the number of contributions, and after it came India, but most of the others did not lag very far behind. In fact, there is a great deal of interesting matter in the records of nearly all of them, though this is hardly the place for a detailed survey. One can only recommend a reference to the book itself, for the items are too numerous to be adequately discussed or even mentioned.

In this connexion I cannot suppress a personal grumble, because in the Far East and Indonesia section only two papers were contributed by Dutch scholars on the latter subject. In view of the fact that the Dutch are, naturally, the leading authorities on their great Eastern possessions, this seems to be a case of undue modesty. A great opportunity

was missed of telling the world of Orientalists something more about this interesting part of the world than is generally known; and there is certainly plenty to be said about it.

The volume concludes with a list of the authors of the several communications, the statutes of the Congress as drawn up in 1897, a list of previous Orientalist Congresses, a list of members of the 1931 Congress, a Table of Contents, and a few Addenda and Corrigenda.

646.

BRAHMAN. Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung I, II. By Professor JARL CHARPENTIER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. iv + 138. Uppsala: Universitets Arsskrift, 1932. Kr. 4.50.

We have long been familiar with the ingenious effort of Professor Hertel to reinterpret the *Ṛgveda* and Vedic religion in the light of the doctrine that Brahman originally denoted the cosmic fire which streams into the world through the rifts in its covering under the appearance of the sun, moon, and other constellations, though that sense appears in a refined form only in the *Ṛgveda*.[1] Professor Hertel relies on the equation of Brahman with the Greek *φλέγμα*, and his interesting exposition of Vedic and Avestan religion compels him frequently to the conviction that those who are rash enough to oppose his views are sadly lacking in knowledge of philology, of Sanskrit, and of Avestan. Polemics of this kind may perhaps best be passed over *sub silentio*, but Professor Charpentier has thought it worth while dealing in detail with his opponent's efforts to find words denoting or connected with light in such terms as the Vedic *yakṣá*, the Avestan *čiθra*, Vedic *dhénā*, Avestan *daēnā*, Vedic *vásu*, Avestan *vohu*. This destructive work (pp. 29–58) is well done, though it is by no means necessary or advisable to commit oneself to acceptance of the exact interpretations of these terms adopted

[1] Cf Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, 447–9, 621–3.

by Professor Charpentier. More interesting, however, is his rival explanation of Brahman as equivalent to the Avestan Barəsman, so that the original sense was "Grasbüschel" or something of that sort. It is, of course, perfectly possible that a term which originally denoted an article of importance in the ritual should pass over to the sense of spell, but the thesis is very far from being proved by its advocate, nor on the whole is it probable. None of the passages in the *Ṛgveda*, not even iii, 8, 2, in which that meaning of grass bundle is suggested, can naturally be so interpreted, and the interesting suggestion (p. 76, n. 5) that *brahmacārin* is to be interpreted as a reference to the girdle of the religious student is wholly implausible. It is far more likely that *brahmacārin* means simply "he who performs holiness". So again in *RV*. x, 61, 7 *svādhyo 'janayan brahma devāḥ*, there is no "Zauberwesen" (p. 134), but merely a spell. The etymology of Dr. Haug, of course, is possible, but not in the least cogent; in fact, none of those proposed is more than a hypothesis. Brahman in the *Ṛgveda* confronts us as an established term doubtless with a long history, which we are scarcely likely to determine to general satisfaction. But there is much that is interesting in the monograph, though it is perhaps unfortunate that Professor Charpentier is yielding to the temptation of following Professor Hertel in the path of assuming that any view is *ipso facto* condemned because he does not share it.

767 A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY. By Professor WEN KWEI LIAO. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 314. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1933. 15*s*. net.

In this book the Professor of Philosophy in the University of Nanking gives an interesting sketch of certain ethical and political issues in the form of an historical analysis of the motivating factors of social conduct The governing contention of the author is that "an individual, who has been

essentially a product of the community, can become a guide of it, if in his reaction upon it he by chance advance original elements to form new steps in the course of cultural development and social evolution ". The element of chance is essential, for the factors of progress can be subsumed under chance, that is, the accidental meeting of unrelated factors. Chance in its natural form is contingency, in its personal form self-determination, and in its social form opportunity. Chance is not to be predicted but expected; it is instant, but not constant. In the light of this conviction the author reviews the analyses of motives which are presented by certain characteristic philosophers of the west, ancient and modern, including Kant, Fichte, Hegal, Marx, Comte, and the Utilitarians, stressing their attitude on the relation of legalism to moralism. Of greater interest and novelty to western readers will be his examination of the views of Chinese philosophers, the traditional, intrinsic and extrinsic moralisms of Confucius, Mencius, and Hsün Tzu, Lao Tzu's doctrine of inactionism through natural tranquillity, Yang Tzu's hedonism, Mo Tzu's altruism according to the will of heaven, and the legalism under Imperial despotism of Kung-sun Yang. This is perhaps the best part of the book, but the account of the late Mr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrines is also decidedly interesting.

There are many points of detail which might evoke criticism, but the work is not controversial, it is essentially a matter of exposition; it is marked by a sound common-sense which seems innately in harmony with the spirit of Chinese philosophy. It is characteristic that in its account of Buddhism modern theories receive neither consideration nor recognition. Taken as a whole, the author's work is a substantial contribution to our understanding of Chinese thought.

854 A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

A HISTORY OF THE GEORGIAN PEOPLE FROM THE BEGINNING DOWN TO THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By W. E. D. ALLEN. Introduction by Sir DENISON ROSS. 10½ × 6½, pp. xxiv + 429, pls. 31, ills. 41, maps 5. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932. 31*s.* 6*d.*

The time devoted, from a busy life, to the writing of this work, the long journeys and the money spent in the production of a handsome, well-printed, and profusely illustrated volume deserve recognition. There is no part of the world which promises a richer harvest for study than Transcaucasia; its history, from the dawn of civilization, its languages, arts, religions, folklore, music, etc., are all of conspicuous interest and almost unknown in England, though in the Bodleian Library there are thousands of books, awaiting students, of material probably more abundant there, in this branch, than any to be found elsewhere in Europe. Sir Denison Ross rightly says, in his introduction, that "Georgian studies in general have been almost entirely neglected in Europe"; but when he adds that Mr. Allen has done for Georgia what Lynch did for Armenia and Baddeley for the history of Mongolia he goes too far.

There are five sections in the book: I, "The Background" (geography, ethnography, prehistory, etc.); II and III, a historical summary, based chiefly on Brosset; IV, "The People and the Power" (social, judicial, ecclesiastical, etc.); V, "The Life of Georgia" (art, literature, etc.). The illustrations are good, and special praise is due to Mr. Allen for his reproduction of over thirty drawings from the Castelli MS., in the Communal Library at Palermo, of which a complete facsimile, properly annotated, should be published as soon as may be.

The first thing to be said of the book is that it gives us too little on the best parts of the history compared with the space allotted to the less glorious periods and to details of administration. "Æsthetic irresponsibility" (pp. 72–3)

HISTOIRE ET HISTORIENS DE L'ALGÉRIE. Collection du Centenaire de l'Algérie. IV : Archéologie et Histoire. With an Introduction by STÉPHANE GSELL. By J. ALAZARD, etc. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 426. Paris : Félix Alcan, 1931. Frs. 60.

Recueil de seize monographies, préfacé par le regretté Stéphane Gsell, frappé au moment où il comptait aborder, avec le neuvième volume de sa grande Histoire, l'œuvre de l'Empire romain en Afrique du Nord. C'est le secrétaire de la *Revue Historique*, André Julien, qui a dirigé la publication de ce recueil, et en a confié les chapitres aux plus réputés spécialistes.

Le cadre géographique (E. F. Gautier), les âges paléo- et néolithiques (Reygasse), l'ethnographie physique berbère (E. Leblanc), la période antique (Albertini), la période chrétienne (Zeiller), l'islamisation (W. Marçais, pour la critique des sources, A. Bel, pour un résumé d'ensemble), l'art musulman (G. Marçais), la période espagnole (F. Braudel), la conquête française (G. Yver), les problèmes du droit musulman (Morand), la littérature algérienne (Martino), les arts en Algérie française (Alazard), l'Université d'Alger (Tailliart), les sources historiques algériennes (Esquer), y sont successivement exposés.

566. L. MASSIGNON.

MAKERS OF CHEMISTRY. By E. J. HOLMYARD. 7×5, pp. xvi + 314, ills. 28. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1931. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Si le récit d'une seule découverte, plein de sinuosités inattendues, est déjà passionnant à lire — récit où l'intelligence, comme un détective, poursuit la réalité sous tous ses déguisements — que ne peut-on espérer attendre d'une histoire générale des découvertes humaines, au point de vue de la psychologie ? C'est pourquoi l'histoire des sciences, discipline

neuve, acquiert en ce moment une importance croissante, attestée, entre autres indices, par la fondation d'Instituts d'Histoire des Sciences aux Universités de Berlin (1929) et Paris (1932), par les sessions annuelles du Comité international d'histoire des sciences, par les revues *Isis* et *Archeion* et par la collection *Makers of Science* due à l'impulsion de Ch. Singer, où le présent ouvrage a paru.

De la manière la plus intéressante et la plus claire, E. J. H. est arrivé à condenser en trois cents pages un exposé des étapes caractéristiques de la formation de la chimie, tant en théorie qu'en nomenclature et en expérimentation.

La période qui nous intéresse ici va de Zosime de Panopolis à Paracelse — depuis les sources grecques des alchimistes arabes jusqu'à leurs traducteurs latins (à propos de la p. 97 sur R. Bacon j'observe que Bouyges a montré qu'il n'y avait pas de preuve de traductions directes de l'arabe chez R. Bacon). E. J. H., qui s'est spécialisé dans l'étude des œuvres de Jâbir-bin Ḥayyân, remarque justement que Jâbir et Râzî sont les deux grands noms de cette période musulmane. Tous deux, en effet, ont précisé les méthodes d'investigation et la classification des substances étudiées. C'est parce que l'orientation de leur mentalité était déjà toute moderne. Certes, ils ont encore le goût des grandes synthèses théoriques, mais ils n'y trouvent plus la plénitude de satisfaction qu'y avaient trouvée les Grecs ; l'esprit sémitique de spéculation sur les nombres, si longtemps appliqué à des chimères eschatologiques, s'attaque chez eux à l'expérimentation de laboratoire, où l'étude des singularités numériques les plus bizarres permet de serrer la réalité de plus près. Dans ce manuel élémentaire E. J. H. n'a pas cru devoir faire état des dernières recherches de Ruska et Kraus qui semblent bien abaisser la date de Jâbir du milieu du VIII^e siècle à la fin du IX^e (de fait j'ai constaté des connexions étroites de vocabulaire entre le "Corpus Geberianum" et les Qarmates du Yémen des environs de 280/892). Mais l'essentiel est d'avoir montré qu'il faut situer le tournant décisif de l'alchimie vers la chimie, non pas à la

Renaissance, mais aux débuts de l'Islam ; à Kûfa où, croyons-nous, l'apport manichéen vint féconder les recherches des premiers alchimistes arabes.

742 L. MASSIGNON.

DER GESETZMÄSSIGE LEBENSLAUF DER VÖLKER INDIENS. Von HARTMUT PIPER. Being section ii, pt. ii, of his *Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte*. 9½ × 6¼, pp. xvi + 232. Leipzig : Theodor Weicher, 1931. RM. 6.

This is another product of what a German reviewer has aptly called the author's "Vergleichskrankheit". India is this time the victim of his Procrustean theory of history—or as he calls it a "volkerbiologische Geschichtsauffassung". His aim is to fix all history into his preconceived scheme of biological laws and his method may be judged from some of the labels he bestows so freely. Ajātaśatru is the Indian Augustus, Daṇḍin the Indian Cervantes, Tagore the Indian Goethe—this from a German in the Goethe centenary year—Yaśodharman the Indian Wallenstein, Queen Diddā of Kashmīr is Agrippina, Ānanda of Kashmīr Marcus Aurelius, and so on. The author has other bees in his bonnet, but this is not an apiarists' journal. Mr. Ford, of Detroit, we believe, once remarked that "history is bunk". We recommend this book to all who share Mr. Ford's view of history.

424. J. ALLAN.

THE LIFE OF HUSAIN (THE SAVIOUR). By MOULVI MIRZA GHULAM ABBAS ALI SAHIB. 7 × 4½, pp. iii + 360. Madras : Standard Press, 1930. 5*s.*

This book is a full, if uncritical, account of the career of Ḥusain with an outline of the events of the early years of Islām which led up to the battle—if it can be given the name—of Kerbelā and the death of Ḥusain. It is the work of a pious

devotee rather than of a historian. Interesting as a presentation of an ultra-Shī'a point of view, the book disarms serious criticism. We are content to put in a good word for the memory of the Caliph Yazīd, who really did not desire Ḥusain's death and treated the survivors of his family well. The writer concludes with a tribute to the prosperity the Ḥusainis have enjoyed under British rule in India.

171 J. ALLAN.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ADAB. CUNEIFORM SERIES, Vol. II. (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XIV.) By D. D. LUCKENBILL. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 87. Chicago. University of Chicago, 1930. 22*s*. 6*d*.

This posthumous publication contains material from the University of Chicago's excavations at Adab, the modern Bismayyah in the Muntafik area, carried out many years ago, but never properly published. Professor Luckenbill must have spent many years preparing these copies; they are beautifully executed. The texts themselves are not among the most interesting; many of the royal inscriptions were previously known, and the Sumerian accounts are of a dull type. The volume is important as a contribution to epigraphy; the scribes of Adab employed some curious forms occasionally, and some of the stone inscriptions are poorly cut, but a scientific account of cuneiform epigraphy—will such ever be written?—will gain by careful attention to these peculiarities. Adab belongs to the north-east of the Sumerian city-group, and we are only now learning of the eastern extension of the archaic Sumerian civilization with which we may suppose it was in continual communication. It is impossible to leave the volume without again feeling the loss of Professor Luckenbill, both as a scholar and as a man.

496 SIDNEY SMITH.

STUDIES IN INDIAN ANTIQUITIES. By HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi + 225. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1932.

PRĀKṚTA-PRAKĀŚA OF VARARUCHI, with Bhāmaha's commentary Manoramā. Edited, with translation, introduction, glossary, etc., by P. L. VAIDYA. 7×5, pp. xiv + 156. Poona: The Oriental Book Agency, 1931. Rs. 3.

The study which Dr. Raychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well known. In the present book he discusses some of the geographical problems which still face the historians, as well as Vedic, epic, and specially historical questions. Although he has brought together a great deal of evidence, we shall hope to see some of the questions discussed more fully some day. He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results.

Dr. Vaidya's edition of the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* is based on Cowell's edition, and he has produced a very useful book, especially for Indian students. It would have perhaps been better to have modified Cowell still more. Cowell's view of the origin of Prākṛt is preserved, but other views are discussed in Dr. Vaidya's own Preface, and he does not appear to have come upon the present view of the historians of grammar.

675, 789. E. J. THOMAS.

HISTORY OF ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD. By R. D. BANERJI. Two vols. Vol. I, pp. xii + 351, ills. 46; Vol. II, pp. xx + 481, ills. 95. Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1931. Rs. 20 each volume.

The late B. Rakhal Das Banerji, while a member of the Archæological Survey of India, discovered the importance of

Mohenjo Daro, and throughout his life was an industrious archæologist and copious writer. In these two large volumes he sets out to trace the history of Orissa from the earliest times to the British period. Illness hampered his work on the first, and the second was printed after his death.

Of raw material the book contains a full supply, but the general impression it conveys is that of a series of notebooks rather than digested history. Thus, while it is a useful compendium for a student of any particular period as it gives references to most of the published material, including several Indian periodicals not well known in Europe, it will be found difficult to handle by anyone more interested in the general history of India. The chapters on the Kara and Bhanja dynasties are particularly diffuse, and the latter could have been lightened by showing the essential details recorded in the copper-plate inscriptions in tabular form instead of in the text. Accounts of the Muslim period are also confused and badly proportioned.

There is little fresh light on the problems of Indian chronology and culture. At p. 106 there is a suggestion that the phallic emblems found in Celebes and at Mohenjo Daro prove a link between early inhabitants of Indonesia and the chalcolithic people of the Indus valley. In the first volume the author tries to prove that the era of the early Gangas began in the first or second decade of the eighth century, but a note at the beginning of the second volume shows that this is far too late.

The chapter on architecture and plastic art is interesting. But the numerous plates with which the book is enriched are scattered through the pages, and the text does not give references to them. Most of these plates are excellent, though a few, and in particular two of coins, are poor. There is a good map, but it has been reduced so much that names are difficult to read.

The later portion of the book contains some controversial

matter in which the writer suggests that Maratha rule was beneficial, at all events as compared with Muslim dominion, but hardly makes out his case.

567. R. BURN.

THE QUATRAINS OF ḤĀLĪ. Original Urdu with a literal English translation by G. E. WARD, and a rendering into English verse by C. S. TUTE. 7¾ × 5½, pp. vii + 103. London. Oxford University Press, 1932. Paper, Rs. 2; cloth, Rs. 3.

This paper-bound booklet contains the Urdu original of 101 quatrains of the poet Ḥālī (1837–1914) with a prose translation first published in 1904 and a recent rendering into verse, which seems to be based much more on Mr. Ward's prose version than on the Urdu original. A typical instance is the verse rendering of Quatrain 76, where the words "may be perfect" are not in the Urdu, but are taken from an explanation enclosed in brackets in the prose version.

The preface states that Mr. Ward's translation has been revised by eminent scholars of the Nizam's State. Unfortunately I have not got Mr. Ward's book available for comparison, but in several instances, e.g. "You can't have both together, word craft and deed craft" (Q. 22), and "All men are dallying with time, one thing which never fails to keep its time is Death" (Q. 96), I feel sure that Mr. Ward's rendering was different and much closer to the original Urdu.

The verse rendering seems to me a very poor one from every point of view. The author has so bad an ear that he makes "flaw" rhyme with "core" and "ignore" (Q. 50), and "alarm" rhyme with "Islam" (Q. 99), while he violates English grammar to make "Thou laboureth" rhyme with "breath" (Q. 67). His English quatrains have no value or interest in themselves as poetry. The extent to which

they differ from the Urdu original may be judged by a comparison of the 2nd and the 97th quatrains.

The first of these runs literally: "The Hindu discovered Thy glory in the idol, the Magians over the fire chanted Thy music, the materialist interpreted Thee from the universe, no one has found it possible to deny Thee." The verse rendering of this is as follows:—

The Hindu in his idols doth glorify Thy Name,
The Parsi hears Thy Music sing in the Sacred Flame
Yea, e'en the unbeliever *must* grant some Primal Cause;
Lo! God, Jehovah, Buddha are Allah—and the same.

The 97th Quatrain is very simple in the original: "I am not such as I appear to be, nor am I such as I think myself to be. Even from myself I try to hide my failings, yet in spite of all this I alone know what I really am." The verse rendering seems to me clumsy, unpoetical, and very far removed from the original. It runs:—

The "I" of men's appraisal is ne'er the essential "I",
The "I" of mine own dreaming I ne'er exemplify,
Cover I up my failings, even from mine own gaze—
None but "I" unto myself can I personify.

Mr. Tute's preface shows that he has a very meagre equipment of Oriental scholarship. The poet appears as "Maulvi Khawaja Hussain" (i.e. Maulavī Khwāja Ḥusain), and we find such inconsistencies as "Mohammedan" and "Mohammad", and "Shaifta" and "Shefta" (p. 59). Hali's prose and poetry in both Persian and Arabic are said to have been admired by all the most competent judges, an exaggerated statement for which there is no authority whatsoever.

It may seem unkind to condemn without reservation any book which may bring English readers into some kind of contact with one of the minor works of an Urdu poet of the second rank (Hali's *Musaddas* is the only work of his which

could be put in the first class), but I cannot see that any real service either to English or Urdu literature is rendered by a production of this kind.

779. R. P. DEWHURST.

DIE RELIGION DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch, 2; Erweiterte Auflage, 17. Von ALFRED BERTHOLET. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. vi + 144. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1932. 2nd Edition. Mks. 5.60.

This volume is included in a series, edited by Professor Bertholet himself, under the general title *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*. As the author remarks in his preface, this will differ from other volumes in the series inasmuch as it deals with a literature which is within easy reach of every reader and is familiar to many. To the student of the Bible it offers an interesting experiment. Normally, a history of the religion of Israel or a treatise on the theology of the Old Testament consists of the writer's own statement of the subject, supported by references to the text. Here Professor Bertholet has said little or nothing himself and has simply printed selected passages from the Bible, illustrating the subject. The translation is his own and is often illuminating; textual alterations are seldom made unless they have already been adopted in Kautzsch's standard modern translation.

The result is that we have here the materials for a history of the Religion of Israel, rather than the history itself. It is obvious that the book would be most useful if it were read in connection with a full treatise on the subject, especially if the book were written by Professor Bertholet himself. It is true that we have already had some idea of his views on the subject, e.g. in small monographs like his *Das Dynamistische im Alten Testament* and in his standard *Kulturgeschichte Israels*. But, even lacking a definitive *History of the Religion of Israel* from his pen, we can reconstruct its main lines from the book before us. The passages

selected are arranged under headings which give us a clue to the form which the subject assumes in the author's mind. He takes first certain indications of primitive beliefs, and, passing through the "ætiological sagas", gives some space to the pre-Mosaic religion of Israel. In this, and in the two following sections ("Moses" and "The Idea of the Covenant"), there is inevitably ground for difference of opinion, for there is practically no agreement as to the extent to which these stages in Israel's life can be accurately reconstructed. It is to be noted that he does not venture to commit himself to the view that the whole of the Decalogue, as a written document, is Mosaic. His next division is that of the pre-prophetic religion of Israel, and here, again, he includes occasionally passages which others would consider to be influenced by the canonical prophets. The longest sections, quite properly, are those devoted to the religion of the prophets, and the book concludes with some twenty pages of selections from the Law, the Psalms, and the Wisdom literature. It is in this last section that the reader feels that the book is most seriously lacking. No doubt Professor Bertholet might offer a valid defence on the ground that his scheme covers only the Old Testament itself, but that would lay the scheme itself open to criticism, since the Biblical sources are hardly adequate (unless they can be more fully employed than they have been here) to give a picture of that most important period, the post-exilic age.

Within the sections it is a little difficult always to follow Professor Bertholet's system of arrangement. The passages are sometimes arranged chronologically, but not always—unless we are to assume that J and E are to be placed later than the pre-exilic prophets. A certain logical order is sometimes traceable, and may have been in the author's mind where it is not obvious to the reader. At the head of one or two sections (e.g. the first) there are short summaries of the subjects treated, and the book would have gained much if this plan had been still further extended. A few lines of

small print would greatly have helped the reader to get the material into order in his mind, and to trace more clearly the line of thought which underlies the whole.

As it is, the book is valuable chiefly when used as a volume of reference read in conjunction with some other work which would give an extended treatment of the subject. And even so, it would be necessary to allow for the views of the writer himself; a reader of Oesterley's first section of the *Hebrew Religion* issued jointly by himself and the present reviewer, would not always find the passages he wanted, and would note others which did not appear to illustrate the points which needed illustration. The book is, nevertheless, an interesting experiment, and writers of larger works may find it of value for purposes of reference.

744 T. H. ROBINSON.

THE AGRICULTURAL LIFE OF THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA BETWEEN THE YEARS 200 C.E. AND 500 C.E. By Rabbi J. NEWMAN. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xii + 216, map 1. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932. 8s.

As Dr. Newman explains in his preface, he uses the term "agricultural life" in a wide sense, and includes many aspects of the life of the Jews in Babylonia which do not come strictly under the head of agriculture. He gives his readers, in fact, a fairly comprehensive picture of the conditions under which the community lived in southern Mesopotamia, including the very important matters of taxation and civil law. The interest of the subject lies in the fact that, probably, there was no other part of the ancient world—at any rate after the failure of Bar Cochba—where the Jew enjoyed so much freedom to live his own life without interference from the Gentile. Persian law was, of course, enforced but, until the rise of the Sassanide dynasty, there was no official persecution, and even after that point there were long periods during which the Jews remained unmolested.

Dr. Newman's study of the subject is based entirely on the evidence offered by the Talmud, and every point he makes is supported by direct reference to that source. Occasionally, perhaps, he assumes a knowledge of post-Biblical Jewish literature which only a small proportion of his readers can claim but, for the most part, his views and statements are intelligible even to the lay mind. We get a picture of a quiet and industrious folk, often forming a majority of the population in the districts where they lived, and carrying on their concerns with as little reference as possible to their heathen neighbours. In detail, we find discussed such matters as the ownership and tenure of land, the status of the actual workers, the crops grown and the methods by which they were produced, the animals and birds reared by the Jews in Babylonia, the important operations of milling, bakering, and butchering, taxation, and civil law. In all these matters attention is carefully drawn to the peculiar conditions of the community in Mesopotamia, while little or no mention is made of aspects of life in which Jewish communities were alike all the world over. The great Academies, for instance, are mentioned, but there is hardly a reference to the worship of the Jews, which must have been central in their life, there as elsewhere. It should be added that the book contains an interesting illustrative map.

The present book is an expansion of a thesis submitted to the University of London, and it has the advantages and disadvantages of its original purpose. That is to say, it is neither a disquisition on the subject nor a popular account, but rather a careful accumulation of the materials on which either might be based. Few men can do their best work with an examiner in the background, and we may reasonably hope that in years to come Dr. Newman may give us a more critical account of a subject in which he seems to be a pioneer. Even if he himself does not do so, he has at least pointed the way, and has collected a good deal of valuable matter.

T. H. Robinson.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHUNI. Edited with a Critical Apparatus. By A. MINGANA. Woodbrooke Studies, Vol. V. Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Nicene Creed. 10 × 6½, pp. viii + 240, pl. 1. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Limited, 1932. 21*s*. net.

In the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, which, through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury, has now found a definite home in the newly erected Selly Oak Colleges' Library, Birmingham, Dr. Mingana has discovered in Syriac two works by Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. A.D. 350–428). They are works which have not survived in the original Greek, and were supposed to have been entirely lost. Fortunately, however, they were translated into Syriac, and it is these Syriac versions which have come to light.

The first of these works has been published in transcription with a translation, etc., as the fifth volume of the "Woodbrooke Studies". Dr. Mingana on this occasion has not used a facsimile as his text, because the manuscript is in many places wormed and has been damaged by damp. The superscription runs: "By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the exposition of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen (Fathers), composed by Mar Theodore, the interpreter." The work thus claims to be an exposition of the Nicene Creed. The postscript, as translated by Dr. Mingana, reads. "Here ends the transcription of the ten chapters on the exposition of the creed, written by the righteous and lover of Christ, Mar Theodore, bishop and interpreter of the Divine Books." The word translated "chapter" is ܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ, which, as Dr. Mingana says, more often means "discourse" or "homily". He has used the word "chapter" throughout in order to maintain more clearly the book character which, he thinks, was given to the work deliberately by the author or by his disciples. "Homily," however, in our opinion, better describes the nature of the work. In any case, "the revered one" (instead

of "the righteous") would surely be a better rendering of ܡܙܟ̈ܝܐ.

The work, which is in the form of addresses to catechumens, is identified by Dr. Mingana with the work called "The Book on Faith" in the Catalogue of 'Abdīsho', and described as "The Interpretation of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen" in the *Chronicle of Seert*. In a letter of Pope Pelagius and in the Acts of the Fifth Council it is referred to in practically the same way, the word Fathers (Patrum), or Holy Fathers (sanctorum Patrum) being added. When Nicephorus Theotokes speaks of *ἑρμηνεία εἰς τό Νικαίᾳ σύμβολον*, "An Explanation of the Nicene Creed," he seems to have the same work in mind. More frequently, however, a corresponding work is referred to as "Liber ad baptizandos". This is a title found eight times in the Acts of the Fifth Council. The "Liber ad baptizatos" of Facundus represents a slight variation. It has to be noted, however, that the "Liber ad baptizandos" embraces practically two works, which together incorporate all the Christian doctrine which catechumens were required to learn before baptism. The first is concerned with the exposition of the Nicene Creed, the second with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, of the sacrament of Baptism, of the Eucharist, and of the Greek Liturgy used in the time of Theodore. The text published as Volume V of the "Woodbrooke Studies" is that of the first work. The text of the second work is to follow soon.

Before proceeding to give a translation of the work as a whole, Dr Mingana gathers up the quotations found in the Acts of the Fifth Council, in the synodical letter of Pope Pelagius, in the works of Facundus, and in those of Marius Mercator.

A work of this kind is by no means easy to translate; but Dr. Mingana, having spent a lifetime in editing and translating difficult texts, is not likely to go far wrong. His translation on the whole is not too free. If one feels that

occasionally it might perhaps with advantage be a little more literal, this is largely a matter of taste. Dr. Mingana is fond of translating ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ by "religion", which does not always seem to us the most suitable translation. On p. 22 he translates three words "the question of religion". No doubt "religion" is best here. But why "the question of religion"? Surely the whole expression ܡܠܬܐ ܕܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ (Syriac, p. 123) means simply "Religion". On p. 25 we read: "a perfect doctrine which separates from paganism those who become initiated (ܡܬܬܠܡܕܝܢ) to religion." Should not this rather be "a perfect doctrine which separates from paganism those who have been instructed in (or converted to) the (true) worship of God" (Syriac, p. 126)? Dr. Mingana shows also a fondness for the words "initiate" and "initiation", which are perhaps liable to convey a wrong idea. We read on p. 104 of "the initiation of baptism" in the sense of pre-baptismal "teaching" to catechumens about baptism. In a footnote Dr. Mingana remarks on the word *talmīdūtha*: Evidently the author refers sometimes by this word to the "catechumenate" or the state of the "Catechumens" who were taught the principles of the Christian faith before their baptism. I have rendered it a few times by "initiation", "teaching", "discipleship" (cf. p. 111, n. 2). Would it not be better to avoid the word initiation, and to translate the words ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ (Syriac, p. 224) "teaching about baptism"? The rendering of a passage in p. 26 raises doubt. Where we read, "some of them perish, and some others will continue their existence, and they are of different natures," should it not be, "some disappear, and others are added, because they are of many natures" (Syriac, p. 127)? Another passage in p. 67 reads curiously: "and then received baptism, from which he gave the New Testament as in a symbol." Should this not read, "by which he gave a new covenant as in a symbol" (ܕܒܝܕܗ ܕܝܬܩܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܛܘܦܣܐ, Syriac, p. 179)?

There are misprints or possible misprints which should be corrected in a new edition, e.g. :—

p. 60, n. 3 : *for* " verd " *read* " verb ".
p. 100 : *for* " reverend " *read* " revered " ?
p. 104 : *for* " Catachumens " *read* " Catechumens ".
p. 117 : *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
p. 119 : *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
p. 127 : *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible] ?

703 MAURICE A. CANNEY.

AN ECHO OF THE UNKNOWN OR GUIDE TO LADAKH. By PANDIT AMAN NATH. $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xi + 119. Mangalore : Basel Mission Press, 1931.

The author tells us that this little book is intended chiefly for the use of European visitors and travellers to Ladakh, and, as such, it will be found a useful little guide, as it gives particulars of the various routes that may be followed, with the rest houses on the routes, and arrangements for transport, and extracts from the Game Regulations, and other information of use for sportsmen.

He also gives an interesting description of the various races of those parts, especially the Mons and the Dhars, and of their religion and customs. The information is largely derived from the works of Dr. A. H. Franke, Drew's " Jammu and Kashmir ", and others, which the author fully acknowledges. The information is here brought together in a concise form, and contains many interesting facts. The Dards " do not wash their body from birth to death. They consider that God has made water only for drinking, and if it should be used for any other purpose His wrath would come upon them and the supply of water would be reduced ". The Couvade of the husband for thirty days is followed by the Dards, and by all the Buddhist communities. The author

hardly summarizes the character of the Georgian people; as we see in Rusthaveli, the typical Georgian shares the British feeling that life is after all a game, to be enjoyed and well played according to the rules, whether we win or lose, but no more than a game, to make us fit. The part of the faith and the church in social and political life was greater than Mr. Allen admits; it is true that for a long time the Georgians have not been generally pietist, but even nowadays not a few of them would dislike Mr. Allen's attitude towards a religion which, however imperfectly lived, has at least been, as in Armenia, a guiding ethical principle and an emblem of national unity. As to the Georgian language, the author (on p. 23) rightly draws attention to its comparatively static character, unlike, for instance, English. But the Church of Rome, whose history has had many vicissitudes, has not greatly changed its language from the beginning, and the Georgians not only had nearly two thousand years ago a speech so elaborate that it was already capable of expressing with precise fidelity the sense of Hebrew, Greek, and other Biblical and liturgical texts, but they had nearly a thousand years ago a school of translators one of whom says that, in his rendering of Proclus, he adopted the meticulous method (like modern Germans) of aiming at an analytic, syllabic, etymological exactitude; this at a time five hundred years earlier than any vernacular European versions of Greek philosophers. The language has been enriched continually down to the present day by contact with other tongues, not only in vocabulary but in grammar (e.g. cf. Visramiani, etc., for Persian). The unsympathetic references to diplomacy and religion (pp. 218 and 266) might have been omitted. Due stress is laid on the value to neighbouring lands of the trade in Georgian slaves; the ability of the race is shown in the part its sons have played in the public life not only of Persia and Turkey but still more visibly recently in Russia, where to-day we find a Georgian ruling as dictator from the Baltic to the Pacific.

There are some details which call for notice. The bibliographical notes are useful, particularly for Georgian and Russian periodicals; a pedant might carp at some of the transliterations, and indeed the author has met such criticism more than half-way in his preface, but no serious student will find difficulty in identifying the items. On p. 318 an unwary reader may be led into the error of supposing that Visramiani is not in prose but in verse, like the Persian Wís, o, Rámín. The following misprints and small blemishes may be mentioned: 57 "throat" for gorge, 74 "truthful" for just, 107 "reclamation" for claim, 157 "havering" for wavering, 157 "crock" and "spot the winner", 168 "contrast(s)", 185 "Okzakov", 200 "morcelate", 203 and *passim* "Cherkezeti" for Circassia, 320 "Grug" for Gruz and "Guaramishvili" for Guramishvili, 391 "della" for detta, 393 "Waher" for Woher, 386 "Russkaya" and "Byzantines", 387 "Tserkvyu".

The writer of the present notice cordially welcomes the book as the first of its kind in English on a subject of great importance and hopes it will be widely read and rapidly followed by works from the same hand and others.

760 O. WARDROP.

MATERIALS FOR THE KABARDEY DICTIONARY. Fasc. 1. Dictionary of monosyllabic root-words and roots of the open-syllable type By N. JAKOVLEV. 9 × 6, pp. 4 + xcvi + 134, pls. 2. Moscow: Central Publishers for the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., 1927. Roubles 5.

This volume (No. 6 of the publications of the Committee for the study of languages and ethnical Culture of the Oriental Peoples in the U S.S R.), of which 1,500 copies were printed, is "dedicated to the Adyghe peoples"; it is well worth attention. In 1923, M. Jakovlev issued at Moscow five large lithographed sheets of *Lauttabellen* in Russian and German; this time he has a complete translation in English of the

Russian text. There is already some material on the subject of the Circassian languages; e.g. Louis Loewe's dictionary was published in London in 1854, Adolf Bergé edited *Sagen und Lieder* collected by S. B. Nogmov (Leipzig, 1866), and texts by P. Tambiev and others are to be found in the *Sborn. Materialov dl. opis . . . Kavkaza* and the *Sborn. Sved. o Kavk. gortzakh.* The "Upper Tcherkes or Kabardey" language presents many features of great interest to students, and its difficulties are such as to stimulate an ambitious philologist. The English of this book is clearly intelligible, and does credit to the translators, Mr. N. Strukov and Miss N. Kazansky. Only about 400 words are given in this first instalment, and it is to be hoped that it has been, or will be, followed by other material, for the mountain languages of the Caucasus are not likely to survive much longer in colloquial form.

805 O. WARDROP.

STILMITTEL BEI AFRAHAT DEM PERSISCHEN WEISEN. By LEO HAEFELI. (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, Neue Folge, Bd. IV.) 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 196. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1932.

Aphrahaṭ, commonly known as "Aphraates" by Europeans, and as the "Persian Sage" by Syrian and Arabian writers in the first half of the fourth century of our era, was famous as the author of twenty-two Epistles which because of the character of their contents were called by Professor William Wright, of Cambridge, "Homilies on Christian Life and Character." The first ten Homilies were written in 337 and the following twelve in 344, and a separate Homily on "The Character" was added in 345. The Syriac originals of all these were published by Wright in 1869. Aphrahaṭ was undoubtedly a Persian pagan, who embraced the Jacobite form of Christianity during the terrible persecution of the Christians by Sapor II (309–379). He managed to escape martyrdom, and having been baptised he was,

probably after very considerable opposition on the part of his fellow Christians, appointed bishop and archimandrite of the famous old monastery of Mâr Mattai, near Mawṣil (Môṣul) or Nineveh. He took the name of Ya'ḳôbh, or Jacob, and Gennadius of Marseilles confounded him with Jacob of Edessa, who died in 438, and this mistake was repeated by other writers, it was corrected by Wright in his *Aphraates*, pp. 440 and 507. The whole of the twenty-three Homilies of *Aphraates* have been translated by G. Bert, *Aprahats des persischen Weisen Homilien*, Leipzig, 1888, and among those scholars who have dealt with the life and writings of the great sage may be mentioned Bickell, Forget, Sasse, Nestle, and Parisot.

Though a Persian, Aphrahat wrote in Syriac, and his Homilies show that he was well versed in the Scriptures (Pĕthîṭtâ Version), and was well acquainted with apocryphal and historical works written in Hebrew. His style is bold, concise, and direct. He naturally writes as an ascetic. and supports his statements by many quotations from and references to the Old and New Testaments. His Homilies were highly prized in the Jacobite Church, as the numerous manuscripts of them enumerated by Baumstark (p. 31, note 2) testify. I found a very battered copy of Wright's edition of this text, without covers and introduction, among the monks of the Nestorian monastery of Rabban Hôrmîzd at Al-ḳôsh.

In his little book of 200 pages Dr. Haefeli gives a very interesting account of his researches into method of composition and the literary style of Aphrahaṭ. The Syrian Churches have always regarded the collection of Homilies as a help and stimulus to those who were slowly and painfully trying to lead the perfect ascetic life, but Dr. Haefeli has treated it as an anatomist would treat a "subject" on the dissecting table. He has deftly dismembered it, and laid bare a multitude of facts dealing with the author's grammatical system and details of composition, and the various ways and devices by which he produced the desired effect on his readers.

There are no mysteries left. Bones, muscles, sinews, tendons, nerves, etc., are separated and labelled and laid before the reader. And Dr. Haefeli's results have a considerable value for those who are studying the literary methods of the Arabs and the early Muhammadan literature produced in Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The only thing lacking in the book is a description and analysis of the great and pious soul of Aphrahat which made all these dead things live. May we suggest that Dr. Haefeli might submit to a similar analysis the equally famous and more eloquent Homilies on Christian Life and Character written in Syriac by Philoxenus, who was also of Persian origin and a Jacobite, and was made Bishop of Mabbôgh in 485.

766 E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

YMAGO MUNDI DE PIERRE D'AILLY, Cardinal de Cambrai, 1350–1420. Texte latin et traduction française des quatre traités cosmographiques de d'Ailly et des notes marginales de Christophe Colomb. By EDMOND BURON. 3 tom. 10½ × 7, pp. 828, pls. 36. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1930.

It has long been known that Columbus based some of his geographical theories on information derived from Cardinal d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi*, but the average student has hitherto had little opportunity of studying that great geographical compendium of the Middle Ages. By publishing the text of Columbus's own copy (that in the Colombina Library), with all Columbus's very numerous annotations, M. Buron has now enabled everybody not only to gauge the part played by the *Ymago Mundi* in the discovery of America, but to realize its full content and importance. The annotations had already been published by De Lollis, but without the text, which deprived them of much of their meaning. M. Buron, believing that Columbus wrote the annotations (an assumption not everywhere accepted), proceeds to show from the

discoverer's own words that he had studied the *Ymago* in detail before 1492. In later years he seems to have re-read it. Indeed, it is clear that almost all his knowledge of "cosmography" was drawn from it, and that though he often referred, with a great display of learning, to the teaching of many ancient and medieval geographers, he only knew these at second hand from the *Ymago Mundi*. The date of this edition of the work, which has long been a matter of controversy, is fixed by M Buron at 1480–3.

If this was Columbus's chief academic source of geographical knowledge, he had other and practical sources in his own long experience as a sailor in many parts of the world, the notes and observations which he had taken with unflagging industry and care wherever he went, and the tales told him by pilots like Velasco and Sanchez. Weighing the evidence, M. Buron has concluded that Columbus, so far from being the ignorant, superstitious instrument of destiny that many writers would make him out to be, was a geographer, astronomer and scientific observer considerably ahead of his time. He recalls the fact that during the difficult years at Lisbon—and perhaps also in Spain—Columbus sold books and maps, and reproduces the intricate globes which he drew in his copy of his second favourite book, Pope Pius II's *Historia rerum ubique gestarum*.

The account of the life and works of Cardinal d'Ailly will be very useful, though it is brief considering the many and important activities of a man who not only planned complete treatises on practically all the sciences but was the most influential prelate in France under the last popes of Avignon. It is interesting to find that three Englishmen, William of Occam, Roger Bacon and John of Holywood (Sacrobosco), were among the scholars who had the greatest influence upon him. Holywood's great work, the *Sphæra*, though for centuries recognized and studied all over Europe as the chief manual on astronomy, has never, by some curious chance, been translated into English. In his chapter on d'Ailly's friend, Cardinal Guillaume Filliastre, M. Buron states that

the Nancy Map of 1427 was a map of the northern countries which Filliastre "avait fait dessiner par un clerc du nom de Clavus ou Claudius cymbricus". This is rather hard on Claudius Clausson or Clavus, whose two maps (neither of them, as far as we know, drawn for Cardinal Filliastre) were the first to show Greenland and had considerable influence on northern cartography.

The Columbian interest of the *Ymago Mundi* is so great that it tends to overshadow the interest and importance of the work itself. No one, however, who reads through these three volumes of descriptions of the whole known world, drawn from all ancient and modern writers, will fail to realize why it was copied and re-copied all over Europe in the early years of the fifteenth century and its influence on geographical theory persisted long after Columbus's time. M. Buron has given the Latin text of the Colombina copy and his French translation on opposite pages, and supplied full and scholarly notes all through. The book is copiously illustrated, partly with d'Ailly's own figures or "maps" of the world, partly with reproductions of early maps, and text and maps convey very clearly the medieval geographical teaching, in which the results of religious dogma, classical mythology, speculation, legend, and true scientific observation were combined, by a sort of legerdemain, to form a system.

246 E. W. LYNAM.

THE MAURYAN POLITY. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. Madras University Historical Series, No. viii. 9½ × 6½, pp. viii + 394. University of Madras, 1932. 9*s.*

This very readable book is built on the writer's historical lectures at Madras University, delivered within this decade. They comprise a study of the Arthaśāstra, the Aśokan inscriptions, and the fragments of Megasthenes, the author holding, in the face of criticism, that the composer of the first work

was the chancellor of Aśoka's grandfather, Candragupta, known as Kauṭalya or Vatsyāyana; further, that Aśoka was not a "Buddhist"—a term certainly unknown in Aśoka's day—nor Candragupta a Jain. As a student of "history"—and this, in our and therefore his, unbalanced culture, means technically secular history—he objects to the Edicts being considered "as essentially religious in tone or in character". To him their "polity" is essentially the statecraft of Kauṭalya.

Readjusters of balance tend to overdo the weighting of the other scale, but Mr. Dikshitar is perhaps wiser than his protest, and is virtually willing to see in religion the first and the last word of all man's forward or upward effort. His discussions should be beneficial in keeping us out of the tendency to see, in Indian Buddhism, or Śakya, a "Church" resembling that of medieval Christianity or of Islam. It was then and there mainly a good way of life for the people at large—a "way according to dharma"—and a specific withdrawn way of life for the *religieux*. And that the stress on the teaching of the former and resort to the latter did for a time and to an extent prevail in India:—this is all that Rhys Davids meant by his title *Buddhist India*, at which the writer cavils (p. 271). The very first words of this book, now alas! out of print, rebuke him: "to describe ancient India during the period of Buddhist ascendancy from the point of view . . of the rajput." If the Edicts are silent as to Nirvana and stress the high interest and importance for every man of the next step, *svarga*, this is only what the great thesaurus of Śakyan Suttas, existing in Aśoka's day *are mainly concerned to do*. Mr. Dikshitar confuses the special mandate for monks, which had evolved by that time, with the original mandate which was for every man, and in which "nirvana", as a *summum bonum* (*pace* the edited first "sermon") played no part. *Artha*, *paramartha* was the *summum bonum*, and *dharma* was, not an externalized set of formulæ, but the divine urge, the Savitar so to speak,

within the man, which the Founder is shown putting in place of the Upaniṣadic Self of his day (*Saṃy* i, 139 ; *Ang.* ii, 20).

My only comment on the Arthaśāstra dispute is to remind the writer that in making the author of the sayings *one* person and his date as early as the end of fourth century B.C., he is dealing with a time when men of India *were not yet writing books*. Whether the style of this recently discovered book of sayings be "archaic or not" has only to do with the date when the sayings came to be written. This fact does not apparently come in for consideration. It is one that we, both in East and West, tend to overlook.

745 C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 184, pls. 12. London. Oxford University Press, 1932. 15s.

The word "esoterism" has a mutilated sound ; my much brought-up-to-date Webster relegates it to the feuilleton of rare and obsolete terms, and it leaves lovers of "English" apprehensive of being confronted with a title containing "Exoterism"—but let that pass. In so far as Dr. Bhattacharyya has further opened up a subject in which he has been preceded by pioneers like "Avalon" and Eliot (Sir Charles), but which still awaits the manifestation that only translations can give, let alone the truer manifestation won by mastery of texts, this little treatise is to be welcomed. As to whether he gives us a juster perspective of that subject than is to be found in his predecessors I judge myself not fully competent to decide. I must confess, in so saying, that I got as far in reading Book v of Eliot's wonderfully compendious work (*Hinduism and Buddhism*). Readers of the present work may find me wrong. They will here find, beside a number of excellent illustrations, a sketch of the growth of what is termed "Buddhist Magic", and a description of Tantrism and Tantric writings, the inferred influence of these on

Hinduism being also discussed. In a Conclusion the author finds that the monasteries and monks of India's decadent and moribund Buddhism "indirectly saved Hinduism from Mohammedan looting, as being taken for forts and soldiers respectively". He also defies us to deny "that Tantric culture is the greatest contribution made by India towards the world's civilization". We have a good deal to learn before we shall be prepared to endorse that.

I could say more as to perspectives taken in the opening chapters, but refrain. The reader will consult this book not for them, but for information in Tantrism. That no reference is made to those earlier fellow-workers—let criticism here be confined to this.

755 C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

Ethnological and Linguistical Aspects of the Ural-Altaic Hypothesis. By S. M. Shirokogoroff. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 198. Peiping. The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1931.

The object of this elaborate work, which is reprinted from vol. vi of the *Tsing Hua Journal*, is a twofold one.

The first part is devoted to an exposition of the author's views on ethnical and linguistic evolution. They are somewhat intricate and unconventional, and are made no easier by the extraordinary terminology which the author finds himself compelled to employ. The following sentence (pp. 34–5) is not perhaps a fair sample, but it is a pretty hard nut to crack, particularly without any explanation of the symbols —

"The effect of the interethnical pressure may be better seen when the difference of the ethnical value of the units is considered. The ethnoses [*sic* ?] are found under the pressure of all other units. So if the ethnical value of the ethnos is defined as shown, $f = \frac{1}{\omega} q^2$, and its interethnical actual value

is increased, owing to the impulsive pressure of all neighbouring ethnical units, i.e. $\epsilon = \frac{1}{\omega} q^2 \Sigma i$, where Σi is the sum of all impulses of variations active among these units, then the intensity of the interethnical pressure and its effectiveness may be realized."

However, even if such vagaries be discounted, it is difficult to believe that the author's theories will command much general support, particularly since they appear to be framed with specific reference to the peculiar conditions of central Asia, and are marked by a fundamental scepticism regarding the possibility of attaining certainty on the subject of the relationship between languages and their grouping in families.

In the second part, which is devoted to a study of A. Sauvageot's *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques*, the author is on securer ground, since he has a very considerable knowledge of the Tungus dialects, and is able to correct a number of mistakes and misapprehensions in the earlier work.

At the same time, it is difficult to accept his exaggerated scepticism regarding the inter-relationship of the "Altaic" languages. If one discards all the cases where the phonetic resemblance is not too good as unproven, and puts down almost all those where it is satisfactory as loan-words, it is not difficult to make hay of any theory of relationship.

536 G. L. M. CLAUSON.

FINIANUS. DIE ABENTEUER EINES AMERIKANISCHEN SYRERS. Translated by ENNO LITTMANN. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 74. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1932.

This story, first published in 1902, is the work of a Syrian resident in Brazil. It is written in the Lebanon dialect, and so is quite unintelligible to those who know only other forms of Arabic. It is translated because it is a good story, not to promote the study of vulgar Arabic, though some of the notes (though brief, they are all to the point) deal with words.

There are several editions of the tale and the German version is eclectic. In describing a fight between a man and an old woman, the German ends, " We made peace between them and the matter ended." One Arabic text has, " We made peace between them and made them kiss on their beards," a bit of schoolboy wit which is typical of the whole. It is crude but not dirty.

It is the tale of an emigrant who comes back to visit his native land and the woes he suffers from the mediaeval conditions of Lebanon under Turkish rule. All goes wrong, he suffers from the hospitality of his friends, the perfidy of a maid, the exactions of Government, and from his aunt. Those who know Lebanon best will enjoy the tale most. The fun is left to speak for itself and below it all is the tragedy of one who is no more at home among his own folk. The Turks proscribed the tale for what it said about the Government, nowadays the Republic of Lebanon would probably condemn it for its all round sarcasm.

763 A. S. TRITTON.

LA VIE SURHUMAINE DE GUÉSAR DE LING, LE HÉROS THIBETAIN. Par ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL ET LE LAMA YONGDEN. 8 × 5½, pp. lxiv + 346, ills 10. Paris: Éditions Adyar, 1931. Frs. 20.

It has long been known that there exists amongst the Mongols and Tibetans, in floating oral and mostly fragmentary form, a widely popular heroic poem or epic on a legendary warrior-king of central Asia called *Gesser* by the Mongols, and by the Tibetans *Kesar* or *Gesar*—a name somewhat disguised in the present volume as " Guésar ". It was first brought to the notice of Europeans by a German translation from a Mongol version by the Russian academician I. J. Schmidt, in 1839. This disclosed the truly epical form of the poem, in which the hero is not only an invincible warrior but a just law-giver and liberator of the oppressed, who did

not die but is to return eventually to champion his chosen people—the Mongols.

This epic exhibits some analogies with the King Arthur legend and the Edda of the Goths, but it is an Odyssey rather than an Iliad, if such a rude and relatively incoherent composition could be compared to such classics. Though largely mythological, it displays remarkably little Lamaist influence, beyond the reincarnation theory (which is not peculiar to Lamaism) and the name of the chief god under a title of Indra. The hero with his entourage is essentially human and central Asian, and he has been made the national god of war. Later, a local tradition was elicited that Kesar had been a former king of Shensi in western China, bordering Mongolia and Tibet, but he is not mentioned in the king-lists of those lands. As it is clear that the epic is woven round a real heroic and powerful king or emperor of central Asia in the dark prehistoric period of that region, its analysis is worthy of serious study.

That the hero was Mongolian and non-Tibetan was indicated by me in 1894 in my *Buddhism of Tibet*, wherein I showed that the Grand Lama established for the Outer Mongols at Urga, at the instance of the Ming Dynasty for the taming of the troublesome Mongols was made an incarnation of the Mongol national hero Kesar. And the many literate Mongol Lamas whom I met claimed Kesar as their fellow-countryman. So also it was, at the Mongol temple at Pekin which I visited in 1900, where the statue of Kesar was in Mongol and not Tibetan dress; and similarly at the Mongol temple with its Kesar statue on the Mongol caravan camping-ground outside Lhasa, as fully described in my *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*.

The Tibetan versions of the legend show a more developed and expanded form along popular Lamaistic lines than the Mongolian, though the Lamas themselves take no part in retailing the legend, which is of the pre-Buddhist period. The legend is handed down orally by illiterate wandering bards, whose versions, while differing considerably in details

from the Mongolian, differ much also in the mouths of different singers, and even in the same individual singer at different times; and few of them know the whole epic, but only particular stanzas or sections which specially interest them. So popular is the epic that stanzas of it are often sung by the Tibetan porters and merchants visiting Darjeeling on the Indian frontier, especially by the more militant men from Kham or eastern Tibet, who have made Kesar their war-god, like the Mongols.

Two different Tibetan versions current in north-western Tibet were collected from the lips of singers and translated and published in English by the Tibetan scholar, the Moravian missionary, A. H. Francke, of Ladak, in *The Indian Antiquary* from 1901 onwards and in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1905 onwards. In these versions, the story whilst retaining many parallels with the Mongolians, is considerably expanded on popular Lamaist lines. The hero is given a more miraculous birth with prenatal divine origin, and anachronistically is made a protégé of the Red-hat wizard, Padona Sambhava, the founder of primitive Lamaism in the eighth century A.D., who procures the hero's incarnation of a god in order to slay the demons of the land and gives him the kingdom of Ling as headquarters to destroy the "King of the North" and the Hor (or Turki) people, the traditional enemies of the Tibetans. Mr. Francke shows with considerable plausibility that this mythological expansion may be explained largely as a Sun myth, or Spring myth, a conflict between the Sun and the demons of Ice and Darkness; and he shows at least one undoubted parallel between a certain episode and one of the Nibelungen Saga. Yet he seems to recognize that these are mere accretions on an immensely old Kesar legend that must have been current several thousands of years ago, a conclusion that I had arrived at independently.

Now, another Tibetan version from eastern Tibet, very much more expanded on Lamaist lines, has been transcribed

piecemeal from oral sources and strung together and translated in summary in the present volume by the intrepid Mme. David-Neel, who previously penetrated to Lhasa in disguise, and has written several booklets on Tibetan mysticism. In it she claims that the hero and his theatre of exploits is purely Tibetan. In proof thereof we are told that when travelling in north-eastern Tibet in the Kham province near the borders of western China and southern Mongolia, she discovered a village called " Ling " which had a settlement of the Hor (or Turki) tribe, the traditional enemy of Kesar, within a day's journey, which satisfies the specified distance in her version for Kesar's capital—which would make Kesar's kingdom a very petty affair. Besides this, she found that the village headman of Ling called himself " King of Ling " and claimed to be a descendant of an adopted son of Kesar of the epic ! He could not, however, supply details of his descent and title of " king " on the plea that the new Republic in China might take him up, presumably as a rebel. This chief lived in a " château " on a hillock adjoining the village, but no remains of any ancient buildings or earthworks of a town or even a monastery are described as being in the neighbourhood, nor does its name appear to be even that of a district, much less a province or sub-province.

This " Ling " village name in eastern Tibet is patently a mere accidental coincidence in place-names ; and such a paltry " kingdom " even if remains of an ancient town existed there, which they evidently do not, would not account for the capital of the vast traditional kingdom of Kesar celebrated in the epic sung all over Tibet and Mongolia. Had there been traces of an ancient capital with spots sacred to Kesar it might have been one of the transplanted microcosms of the epic like the many " Arthur Seats " in Britain, but there is no evidence even for this. The epic name of " Ling " means in Tibetan " a Continent or Division of the World ", and it is the term used to translate the Sanskrit

Dvipa with the same meaning; and in the epic Kesar is said to be destined as "King of the Four Lings", that is, "King of the Four Quarters of the World," or universal emperor. Besides, the authoress admits that when she visited the Mongol temple at Pekin and saw there the statue of Kesar "in Taoist dress" the Mongol Lamas scornfully rejected her notion that Kesar was a Tibetan and claimed that he was a Mongol and their Mongol war-god.

This eastern Tibetan version, compiled from miscellaneous fragments stitched together, is by far the most expanded, heterogeneous, corrupt, and latest of all Even its compiler describes it as "fantastic" and "grotesque". With its dark sorcery, black-magic and spells of the latest debased form of the wizard Padma Sambhava type, its bizarre host of malignant demons is headed by the Tiger-headed Tamdin, or Hayagriva, a monstrous form of the Indian Śiva, the destroyer One of the chief bardic sources is described as a wandering mystic and "visionary", who held séances of the villagers, and hypnotized himself by gazing steadfastly on a sheet of blank, white paper spread on a table in front of him, and then "inspired, in a state of trance", recited on endlessly the epic as he saw it or imagined it subjectively. These séances were held twice daily for three hours each and continued daily for six weeks at a stretch before he finished his story! Little wonder, therefore, that the "text" compiled by our authoress and her assistant extends, we are told, to seven hundred and forty-eight pages of MS, of which the present work is merely "a condensed summary" as there are "so many repetitions". The book is named "The Super-human Life" of this hero, though "Supernatural" perhaps would have been a better title.

It is a pity that so much devoted labour should yield little or nothing towards locating the hero geographically or chronologically. The medley of grotesque magic, sorcery, and spells may preserve something, perhaps, of interest to the folk-lorist. Yet even here, some of the translated titles

will need revision; thus the murderer who runs amok, whose name is translated as "The Fisherman-Butcher" should read "The Butcher with the Knife".

In short, the important task of sifting out from the manifold accretions covering the Kesar Legend its kernel of solid historical fact regarding the dark period of central Asia still remains remote and unattempted.

490 L. A. WADDELL.

MIRĀT-I-MUṢṬAFĀ'ĀBĀD (History of Junagadh). By the late SHEIKH GHULAM MUḤAMMAD ABDUMIYAN. 13 × 9¾, pp. viii + 818 + ii, pls. 28, map 1. Junagadh, 1931.

Mustafabad was the name bestowed on the city of Junagadh by the great Ahmedabad King Muhammad Begada, who conquered it from its Chudasama Rajput rulers. It has not ousted the old historical name, but is still used by local Moslems. This book is a history of the Junagadh State from the earliest times, but with special attention to the Babi family to which the present dynasty belongs. Junagadh can now claim to have had its history locally written in four languages: Persian, Gujarati, English, and Urdu. The present work is in the last of these languages, and might perhaps be regarded as somewhat superfluous in present conditions, but on the other hand it may be symptomatic of the effort to make Urdu the *lingua franca* of the Indian Moslems, and to supersede Gujarati which they commonly use in Kathiawar and Gujarat. The author of the work was a native of Olpad in the Surat district and wrote in a simple style, free alike from the peculiarities of Dakhani Urdu, and from the high flying style of Lucknow. He did not live to complete the work, which has been revised, with the last two chapters added, by his son, Ghulam Ahmed. The compilation of the History has involved a good deal of research, and much of it is drawn from Persian manuscripts which are not otherwise easily accessible. The book has been well lithographed in Bombay, and is adorned by a large

number of illustrations, some of them of considerable historic interest. It is a production creditable alike to the deceased author, and to the Junagadh Darbar which has materially assisted in its production.

671 P. R. CADELL.

SHERLEIANA. I. Sir Anthony Sherley's persische Botschaftsreise (1599–1601). II. Sir Anthony Sherley's marokkanische Sendung (1605–6). By DR. FRANZ BABINGER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 52, ills. 7. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1932. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.

The story of Sir Anthony Sherley's journey into Persia in 1598 and his employment by Shāh 'Abbās as Ambassador to the Christian princes of Europe in order to promote an active alliance against the Sultan of Turkey has often been told. (Incidentally, it may be mentioned that in 1841, J Briggs published in this JOURNAL (Vol. VI, No. XI, pp. 77 et seq.) "A Short Account of the Sherley Family".) For Anthony Sherley's journey from Venice to Qazvīn we have no less than four first-hand narratives, namely his own *Relation* and those of three of his companions: Parry, Manwaring, and Abel Pinçon. For his journey from Ispahan to Moscow and from Archangel to Germany by sea—for he travelled via Russia in order to avoid entering Ottoman territory—we have Parry and Don Juan of Persia But for the journey from Emden, where Sherley landed after a perilous voyage round the North Cape, across Germany to Rome, we have only Don Juan's description, for Parry had been landed at one of the Dutch islands, whence he proceeded via The Hague and Flushing to England.

This Don Juan of Persia was one of the Persian officials who accompanied Sherley from Ispahan. His Persian name was Uruch Beg, in Rome he was converted to Christianity and took the name of Don Juan (1601). He kept his notes in Persian and in 1604 published his *Relaciones*, which were

dictated to a friend, who was unfortunately unable to help him with his geography. Mr. Guy le Strange in his admirable English translation of Don Juan's book identified a great many of the places in Germany but some were distorted beyond recognition. Such names as Roberg, Quimidac, and Iub offered hardly any clue to their identity. The first part of Professor Babinger's brochure is devoted to this journey through Germany, and by means of rare chronicles and local records he has cleared up nearly all these strange transcriptions and has been able to trace almost the exact route of the embassy all the way to Rome.

The second part deals with Anthony Sherley's mission to Morocco, and in this connection also Professor Babinger has brought to light a number of interesting documents which he combines with the important researches of Comte Henri de Castries, which appeared in the second volume of "*Les Sources Inedites de l'Histoire du Maroc*", Series III, *Archives et Bibliotheques d'Angleterre* (Paris and London, 1925). This volume contains a great deal about Sherley which was quite unknown to any of his previous biographers. Before its appearance we knew very little of this mission to Morocco beyond what was given by Purchas, who published in his *Pilgrimes* a summary of a very rare tract printed in 1609 by Ro(bert) C(hambers). De Castries made a thorough examination of all the contemporary English records and found many letters relating to Sherley's adventures in Morocco. He was also the first to call attention to a very curious Spanish MS. belonging to the British Museum which had hitherto escaped the notice of those interested in Sherleiana. This MS. (Egerton, 1824) bears the title, *Pesso polytico de todo el Mundo per el Conde Don Anttonio Xerley,* and contains a survey of the Government resources and political relations of the principal states of Europe, Asia, and Africa in relation to Spain at the beginning of Philip IV's reign. De Castries prints from this work the chapter on Morocco, which is chiefly interesting because of its authorship.

The contents of the MS. are as follows:—Dedication to Olivares, f. 1*b*; Spain, f. 4; France, f. 8*b*; Germany, f. 15; The Pope, f. 21*b*; Venice, f. 23; Florence, f. 27*b*; Minor Italian States, f. 29; Genoa, f. 30*b*; Savoy, f. 32; Tirol, f. 35*b*; Poland, f. 39; Moscovia, f. 42; Catay, f. 45*b*; Sweden, f. 48; Denmark, f 50, England, f. 56; the Rebels of Flanders, f. 67*b*, Barbary, f. 79; Turkey, f. 82*b*, Abassia (Abyssinia), Congo and Angola, f. 95*b*; Cape of Good Hope, Sovala, Maçanvique, Quiloa, Malinde, and Monbassa, f. 96*b*; Persia, f. 97*b*; The Great Mogor, f. 102*b*, El Dialcan, Calicut, Cochin, and Mayahar, f. 106*b*, Ceylon, f. 115*b*; Samatra, Marsinga, Gidago, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, Calimanan Aboa, Borno, Cochin-china, and other greater and minor potentates as far as China, f. 117, China and Japan, f. 118, Philippines and Moluccas, f. 119*b*. A discourse addressed by the said Sir Anthony Shirley to the Count Duke of Olivares (D. Gaspar de Guzman) in confirmation and explanation of the political and mercantile considerations contained in the above. It is dated Granada, 2nd November, 1622 (f. 121*b*).

As was to be expected the chapters of the greatest interest are those dealing with the countries which Anthony Sherley knew from personal experience, such as Italy, Muscovy, Persia, and Barbary. With regard to the actual manuscript, I am of opinion that it represents the work of a Spanish clerk who wrote at Anthony Sherley's dictation. The spelling of the proper names is sufficient evidence of this fact, for Anthony Sherley could not possibly have made such mistakes as occur for example in the spelling of English names. The paper bears a watermark, three superimposed circles surmounted by a three-forked crown · the top circle contains a cross and the two lower circles capital letters which vary from page to page I find this watermark recorded in documents of the period to which the work belongs. I therefore take this to be the original and possibly unique copy. It is very much to be regretted that Anthony's style is so confused as to be hardly intelligible. Had it been otherwise

it would have been interesting to examine the ideas he had formed of those countries he knew best, but I fear it is hardly worth the labour which would be involved by an attempt to unravel his endless periods in crude Spanish.

Professor Babinger also refers to another Spanish treatise by Anthony Sherley probably written in 1626, which is preserved in Madrid but has never been carefully examined.

Professor Babinger has discovered many documents in the German archives which throw yet further light on the negotiations between the Emperor Rudolph II and other Christian princes and has cleared up a number of obscure points. I cannot in this place attempt to indicate the wide field he has covered, but must refer those who are interested to the little book which is a positive mine of bibliography.

Attention may be called to two little errors which have crept into the work of this most careful scholar. On p. 6 he says that the embassy under Sherley and Husayn 'Ali Beg was joined just as they were setting out from Ispahan by a Dominican and a Franciscan friar who had just arrived from Portugal. The two friars in question were Alfonso Cordero, a Franciscan, and Nicolas de Melo, an *Augustinian*. We do not know where the former came from, but the latter was on his way *to* Portugal after a long residence in Mexico and the Philippines.

On p. 6 also, Professor Babinger accepts Don Juan's statement that the Ambassadors left Ispahan on 9th July, 1599, but this date must, I think, be an error for 9th May, for a letter dated Gilan, 24th May, was sent by Anthony Sherley to Venice, which letter must have been written on his journey from Ispahan to Russia The bearer of this letter says that Anthony was leaving Persia a few days after himself. Don Juan gives nineteen days for the journey from Ispahan to the Caspian ; Parry gives eighteen days. They spent at least two months on the Caspian, for they were incidentally carried across to the Manqishlagh promontory (where Anthony Jenkinson disembarked on his journey to Bukhara

in 1558), and there they stayed ten days. They finally reached Astrakhan in the middle of September. Don Juan and Parry both say that they spent two weeks in Astrakhan, and Abel Pinçon says they set out up the Volga on 2nd October and finally reached Moscow at the end of November. Don Juan agrees with the others in the date of their arrival in Moscow and in most other details, and therefore Don Juan's 9th July must be a scribe's or a printer's error.

840 E. DENISON ROSS.

THE CONVERSION POLICY OF THE JESUITS IN INDIA. By the Rev. H. HERAS, S J. Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, No. 8. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 79. Bombay · Indian Historical Research Institute, 1933.

In the course of his book on *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, published in 1851, Sir Richard Burton wrote: "The Hindoos very rarely become Christians now that fire and steel, the dungeon and the rack, the rice-pot and the rupee are not allowed to play the persuasive part in the good work formerly assigned to them." In a recent American work on *Sea Fights in the East Indies in the Years* 1602–1639, this pronouncement is quoted with approval as describing the policy followed by the Jesuits in India, and the little book now under review is devoted to controverting the tradition represented by this statement.

It has been customary to ascribe the system of forcible conversion to the Inquisition, but Father Heras pertinently points out that the Inquisition was not concerned with proselytism and that the Jesuits were not, in any case, the Order which administered the Inquisition. He produces a number of quotations from travellers and historians, which describe the peaceable methods employed by the Jesuits—their preaching, their instruction, their ceremonial, their dramatic representations and so forth, and he alludes to instances of mass-conversion which were attributed more to

spontaneous impulse than to any outward persuasion. Individual cases of violent compulsion might, he admits, be discovered which were due to the misguided enthusiasm of individual priests or administrators; but he has no difficulty in showing that heathens lived in large numbers in Goa territory and possessed a certain latitude in the observance of their own festivals and ceremonials. The Portuguese Government, which supported the Jesuits, was no doubt a frankly proselytizing authority. It undertook the demolition of temples and idols; it punished severely any disturbances directed against Christianity; and it debarred Hindoos from a number of special exemptions and privileges allowed to Christian converts. To this extent its efforts were forcible, and they were rigorously executed; but extreme pronouncements such as that quoted above from Burton are not a fair representation of the policy followed either by the Portuguese Government or by the Jesuits, and Father Heras is fully justified in putting before his readers the other side of the picture.

864 ANON.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Vol. VI THE INDIAN EMPIRE, 1858–1918. Edited by Professor H. H. DODWELL, M.A 9 × 6, pp. xxiv + 660. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932. 30s.

This is the second of the two volumes devoted to the British period, and continues the story down to the end of the Great War. To some extent it overlaps its predecessor, for in that the development of the administrative system was not pursued beyond 1818, and the first nine chapters of the present volume are devoted to making good that deficiency. Then, after an excellent account by Dr. Rice Holmes of the Mutiny, the remaining twenty-three chapters chronicle the peaceful development of the country, the only warlike topics occurring in the chapters on Central Asia (by the editor), the Conquest of Upper Burma (by Mr. G. E. Harvey), the North-West

Frontier (by Dr. C. C. Davies), and India and the War (by Mr. Rushbrook Williams).

Nearly a third of the volume has been written by Sir Verney Lovett, who has dealt admirably with such diverse subjects as education, famine, district administration in Bengal, and the home and Indian governments. The sections relating to Madras and to Bombay were undertaken by Mr. Alan Butterworth and the late Mr. Edwardes respectively, while Sir Patrick Fagan is responsible for those dealing with the upper provinces. The four chapters devoted to the subject of the reforms have been entrusted to Sir Richard Burn, whose summary is a model of careful and impartial treatment. Other topics have fallen to various experts, such as Sir Wolseley Haig, who contributes two chapters on military matters, and the editor himself has treated the important subjects of Imperial legislation, 1818–1857, relations with the Indian States from 1858, and (as already mentioned) events in Central Asia Such names as these are guarantees of a high level of achievement, and the volume appears to be in every way a worthy companion of the former one.

775 W. FOSTER.

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. UMMAYADS, Part I, A.D. 622–750. With a Contribution on the Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque at Damascus by M. VAN BERCHEM By K. A. C. CRESWELL. 17½ × 13, pp. xxvi + 414, pls. 81, figs. 491. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932. £10 10s.

Dieses monumentale Werk uber die fruhislamische Baukunst, das nur mit der gutigen Unterstützung S M. Konig Fuads I. von Egypten durchgefuhrt werden kann, gehört zu jenen Leistungen der Kunstgeschichte, die fur Generationen der Forschung Anregung zu geben vermogen. Der erste Band, der jetzt erschienen ist, vermittelt einen gründlichen Einblick in die ersten Anfange der islamischen Baukunst unter der Dynastie der Omayaden, von denen besonders die Khalifen

Abd-el Malik und Walid II. eine rege Bautätigkeit entfalteten. Im Mittelpunkt stehen der Felsendom in Jerusalem, die Grosse Moschee in Damaskus und die Schlossbauten der ersten Khalifen jenseits des Jordan am Rande der Wüste.

Die Grundlage der Untersuchung bildet eine eingehende Auseinandersetzung über das Werden des islamischen Sakralbaus an Hand der literarischen Überlieferung. Die Moscheen von Kufa, Hira, Basra und Fostat werden als fester Vorstellungsbesitz der Forschung erschlossen. Hier zeigt sich besonders deutlich, wie die Phantasie sich auch der historischen Quellen bedienen kann, um den Monumenten Gestalt zu verleihen, ohne den Tatbeständen Gewalt anzutun. Historische Perspektiven und solche, die sich aus der Einstellung des Forschers zu den Problemen des baukünstlerischen Gestaltens ergeben, wirken so organisch zu einer einheitlichen Betrachtung zusammen, dass einem diese Architektur als lebendigster Ausdruck der sozialen, politischen und religiosen Gemeinschaft nahe gebracht wird. Diese Gesichtspunkte werden nicht als Selbstzweck verfolgt und gewissermassen in die Tatbestände hinein projiziert, sondern sie ergeben sich aus einer kritischen Betrachtung des Verhältnisses historischer Tradition und historischen Werdens zu den gegenständlichen Tatbestanden. Daher wird besondere Sorgfalt auf eine erschöpfende Mitteilung und kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den literarischen Quellen verwandt der arabischen Schriftsteller und der europäischen Pilger, Reisenden und Forscher vom frühen Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart. Daruber kommt die morphologische Betrachtung aber keineswegs zu kurz. Von sämtlichen Bauten liegen auf Grund sorgfaltiger Vermessungen genaue Plane und Schnitte vor und die wichtigen Details sind in angemessenem Masstab vergrossert. (Warum die Masse ausser in englischen auch in preussischen Fuss angegeben werden versteht man nicht ganz. Das dezimale Zahlensystem ware nützlicher.)

Der eigentliche Kurs in der Darstellung wird, was auch in der Einleitung ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird, durch die

Mitteilung historischer Tatbestande bestimmt und damit werden die Grenzen gesetzt. Diese Einstellung wird auch in der Behandlung gewisser wichtiger Spezialfragen streng beobachtet wie etwa der Entstehung der Pendentifkuppel. Das Problem wird in grossen Zugen durch die Jahrhunderte der Spatantike an Hand der einzelnen Monumente bis an die Schwelle der islamischen Entwicklung verfolgt mit dem Ergebnis, dass man wahrscheinlich Syrien als die Heimat des spharischen Pendentifs ansehen darf. Die Untersuchungen des Verfassers uber die Entstehung des Minarets sind bekannt Freilich steht das auf quadratischem Grundriss errichtete Minaret in Kairuan, das im Maghrib und Spanien bevorzugt wurde, morphologisch zunächst dem syrischen Kirchturm naher, als dem antiken Pharos. Davon werden aber die Perspektiven von Thiersch, die der Idee nach Zusammenhange mit dem antiken Pharos herstellen, so wenig berührt, wie jene durchaus berechtigten Perspektiven, die in solchen Formen des Minarets wie des Malwiyye (Schneckenturm) in Samarra, der Idee nach gewisse Zusammenhange mit dem altbabylonischen Zikkurat sehen. Diese zusammenhänge werden einem sofort klar, wenn man etwa Darstellungen mittelalterlicher Meister von dem Turm zu Babel zum Vergleich heranzieht, die erkennen lassen, dass die Metamorphosen in der Phantasie des Kunstlers fur den Laien manche Überraschungen bergen. In der Anwendung des gleichseitigen Dreiecks bei der Auswägung der Proportionen, der sogenannten Triangulation, wird eins dieser Gesetze des Gestaltens in seinem umfassenden historischen Tatbestand überzeugend hervorgehoben.

Der Bedeutung entsprechend verwachst mehr mit dem grossen Zusammenhang der Anteil des Persischen Genius an der Ausbildung des tektonischen Kanons der fruhislamischen Baukunst. Die Perser fuhrten das Tonnengewolbe mit Gurtbogen ein, das eine grossere Spannweite ermoglichte und gestattete, die Tragemauern durch Lichtoffnungen und Tore zu durchbrechen (Vgl den Taq Iwan, einen Bau der Sasaniden-

zeit). Die Folgerungen, die daraus für Qasr al Kharanah abgeleitet werden, das der Verfasser nicht für islamisch hält, verdienen Beachtung.

Anerkennenswert ist es, dass auch der in diesem Kulturkreis besonders wichtigen Frage der Ornamentik eine Spezialuntersuchung gewidmet ist. Marguerite van Berchem hat in geschickt zusammengestellten Tafeln meistens nach eigenen vor den Originalen entstandenen Federzeichnungen die Mosaikarbeiten des Felsendoms in Jerusalem und der Omayadenmoschee in Damaskus unter Heranziehung von byzantinischen und abendlandischen Mosaikarbeiten zum Gegenstand einer vergleichenden ornamentalen Untersuchung gemacht. Danach darf man diese Mosaiken in Jerusalem und Damaskus wahrscheinlich auf das einheimische Syrische Kunsthandwerk zuruckfuhren. Die von de Lorey entdeckten Mosaiken der Moschee von Damaskus mit den Flusslandschaften sollen sogar in mancher Hinsicht tatsachliche syrische Verhaltnisse widerspiegeln, da arabische Schriftsteller die Villensiedlungen an den Ufern des Barrada in ähnlicher Weise beschreiben. Bei derartigen vergleichenden ornamentalen Untersuchungen kommt alles auf die geschickte Wahl der Fluchtpunkte an, um einigermassen sicher die den wirklichen Tatbestanden entsprechenden Perspektiven zu ziehen. Um dem Vorwurf zu entgehen, dass gewisse formale Eigentümlichkeiten auf den Werkstoff als solchen, oder die Technik als solche zuruckgefuhrt werden konnen und keine schopferischen Beziehungen zwischen zwei verschiedenen Kulturkreisen zur Voraussetzung haben brauchen, sollte man noch mehr Beispiele ornamentaler Formen aus verschiedenen Materialien heranziehen.

Die vergleichende palaographische Untersuchung der Bauinschriften fur die es in dem vorliegenden Zeitabschnitt auch schon Probleme gibt, die die ornamentalen Untersuchungen ergänzen könnten, wird wahrscheinlich fur einen der nächsten Bände auf breiterer Grundlage geplant, was insofern gerechtfertigt erscheint, als nicht gerade viel wichtiges Material vorhanden ist.

Neben der Entwicklung des islamischen Moscheebaus, kommt in der frühislamischen Epoche der Schlossanlage besondere Bedeutung zu. Diese jenseits des Jordans in der Syrischen Steppe gelegenen befestigten oder unbefestigten Schlösser sind der Idee nach den abendländischen Pfalzen nicht unähnlich. Quseir Amra und Mschatta sind die beiden wichtigsten Bauten, die die wesentlichsten Aufschlusse über das Werden des frühislamischen Schlossbaus vermitteln. Angesichts der umfangreichen ornamentalen Studie uber das Mosaik, kann man den Wunsch nicht unterdrucken, dass auch die reiche Ornamentik von Mschatta in diesen Exkurs einbezogen ware. Gerade an diesem den letzten Jahren der omayadischen Herrschaft angehörenden Bau mit seiner reichen Ornamentik beginnen sich die beiden Welten der Spätantike und des neu erwachenden Orient klar zu scheiden. Nachdem die Torfront von Mschatta in einem Oberlichtsaal der Islamischen Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin neu aufgestellt worden ist, kommt die kunstlerisch hochstehende Steinmetzarbeit vollends zur Geltung. Man kann erst jetzt das Ornament in seinen eigentlichen formalen Werten erfassen. Bei einer auf breiterer stofflicher Grundlage unternommenen vergleichenden Ornamentuntersuchung lassen sich auch derartige Erscheinungen wie der Auftauchen der ornamentalen Stuckverkleidung der Wände in Qasr al-Heir besser in die allgemeine kunstgeschichtliche Betrachtung einbeziehen Mit der Feststellung, dass dies die frühste bisher bekannte Islamische Stuckdekoration ist, ist zwar ein wichtiger Tatbestand mitgeteilt, der aber erst dann seine eigentliche kunsthistorische Bedeutung gewinnt, wenn man an den Tatbestand erinnert, dass eine der wesentlichsten schopferischen Grundlagen der architektonischen Dekoration der islamischen Kunst in der sasanidischen Epoche zu suchen ist, die gerade den Dekorationszweig der ornamentalen Stuckverkleidung der Wande zu besonders hoher Vollendung ausbildete Freilich gehoren derartige vergleichenden morphologischen Betrachtungen nicht unbedingt in den Rahmen der

Bauforschung. Die kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Architekturformen der fruhislamischen Epoche bietet noch viele Probleme und man darf dankbar dafur sein, dass diese nunmehr in geschlossener Form vorliegt. Der Anteil Syriens bei der Ausbildung der fruhislamischen Architektur wird sicherlich mit Recht vom Verfasser mit besonderem Nachdruck hervorgehoben, indem die einzelnen Tatbestände, die von diesem schopferischen Zusammenhang unmittelbar Zeugnis geben klar ins Licht gerückt werden. Darüber werden die Anregungen aus der iranischen Baukunst (Apadana, Liwanbau) nicht verkannt. Die Ergebnisse der in den letzten Jahren erschlossenen sasanidischen Palastanlagen in Kisch, Damghan und Ktesiphon haben wahrscheinlich fur das Werk nicht mehr berucksichtigt werden konnen. In den meisten Fällen liegen die endgultigen Baupläne noch nicht vor. Doch kann man bei der Betrachtung der Baudekoration diese wichtigen sasanidischen Grundlagen kaum ubergehen Gerade weil man das Gefuhl hat, in dieser dem monumentalen Gegenstand entsprechenden monumentalen Arbeit eine luckenlose Zusammenfassung der historischen Tatbestände vor sich zu haben, muss daran erinnert werden. Die erschopfende Behandlung des an sich sehr mannigfaltigen Gegenstands kommt auch dadurch zum Ausdruck, dass auch eine Spezialuntersuchung uber den Tierkreis eines Kuppelgewolbes des Wüstenschlosses Quseir Amra dem Text eingefügt ist (von Fritz Saxl und Arthur Beer). Der eigentliche Gegenstand, die frühislamische Architektur wird auf diese Weise von allen sekundaren Perspektiven entlastet, und das Thema hat in der Tat die erschopfendste Bearbeitung erfahren, die gegenwärtig auf Grund der historischen Tatbestande moglich ist.

634 J. HEINRICH SCHMIDT.

[In connection with the query in brackets at the bottom of p. 977, this particular unit of measurement is referred to only on page 320 of the book where it is discussed in Note 3 —ED]

THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA: EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD. With a Foreword by Dr. L. D. BARNETT. By H. C. RAY. Vol. i. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xl + 664 + ii, maps 10. Calcutta: University Press, 1931. 15s.

In this work, Dr. H. C. Ray gives us one of the most important contributions to Indian history that has appeared in recent years. The period covered is the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the age of transition from Hindu to Muslim sovereignty in Northern India. It is the flourishing period of the Rajput dynasties, for whose history we have hitherto been too much dependent on late tradition or Muslim sources. These are now corrected from epigraphical and Hindu literary records It is the period of contact and interaction of Muslim and Hindu cultures, and a critical investigation of the mutual influences and borrowings is most important for our comprehension of the history of the later period. Dr. Ray has studied the very considerable material for the history of his period which is available in Hindu and Muhammadan, literary and epigraphical sources He has digested it with great critical ability and given a consecutive and coherent account of the various kingdoms into which Northern India was divided

This volume, the first of three, deals with Sind, the Panjab, Kashmir, Nepal and Assam, Kanauj, Bengal, and Orissa. The greater part of the ground is covered for the first time. It is only rarely, as in the case of the Pālas and Gurjaras, that Dr. Ray has had a path made for him, but in such cases also he is able to throw much new light on a complicated story. One does not know what to admire most, the skill with which Dr. Ray has pieced together the scattered Muslim references in Arabic sources and reconciled them with the scanty Indian records in dealing with Sind and the north-west, or his critical treatment of the Kashmir, Nepal, and other chronicles, or his command of the extensive epigraphical material in his treatment of the eastern part of the area

he covers in this volume. Why, by the way, have historians never flourished at low altitudes in India ?

The admirably clear maps are a feature of the book, and the genealogical lists add to its value, while it has an unusually satisfactory index. The book has been printed with the care which it merits. It is readable, comprehensive, and accurate ; Dr. Ray has undertaken a heavy task, and this first volume shows that he will carry it through most successfully. We need say no more for, referring to Dr. Ray's modest quotation in his preface, it will take a very clever man with a very fine sieve to find faults in this book. We are also grateful to the Calcutta University Press for making this great work fully accessible.

858 J. ALLAN.

AVICENNAE DE CONGELATIONE ET CONGLUTINATIONE LAPIDUM, being sections of the Kitâb al-Shifâ'. The Latin and Arabic texts edited with an English translation of the latter and with critical notes by E. J. HOLMYARD and D. C. MANDEVILLE. 9½ × 6½, pp. x + 86. Paris: Librarie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1927.

The treatise here published by Messrs. Holmyard and Mandeville is of high interest to scholars, who are concerned with the history of chemistry, as one of the oldest works on geology that have come down to us, if not actually the oldest. In the old Latin version it is commonly attributed to Avicenna, but also occasionally to Aristotle or to Geber (Jābir ibn Ḥayyān), and until recently was generally regarded as spurious. The editors show that the ascription of the treatise to Avicenna is quite authentic, as it actually consists of parts of his great manual of philosophy, the Kitāb-al-Shifā. Their work is scholarly and exact, and includes indexes of persons and subjects.

818 A. G. ELLIS.

An Introduction to the Comparative Philology of Indo-Aryan Languages. By R. V. Jahagirdar. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. ii + 166. Poona: The Oriental Book Agency, 1932. Rs. 3.

This little book, which purports to give a sketch of the development of Indo-European through Sanskrit into the modern Indo-Aryan languages, is written with enthusiasm, but would have been much better if enthusiasm had been tempered with care. The plan of the book, as the author very generously acknowledges, is based largely on the present reviewer's own lectures; but its execution is so careless and is so fraught with blunders and misprints that it is quite unsuitable for putting in the hands of Indian students, for whom it is primarily designed.

790 R. L. Turner.

The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian. By A. S. Yahuda. Vol. I. 10 × 7, pp. xxxviii + 310, pls. 16. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 25s.

This is a very remarkable book and one which is certain to have a great effect on future Biblical studies. The whole subject-matter is summarized in a sentence from the Introduction: "If the Biblical data concerning the wanderings of the Hebrews from the beginning of their history, when the patriarchs went forth from Southern Babylonia through Aram to Canaan, until the re-conquest of Canaan after the Exodus from Egypt, are correct, further, if it is correct that the Pentateuch originated in the Exodus period just before the return of the Hebrews to Canaan: then it should be possible to discover in Hebrew strong traces of the languages of the lands in which the Hebrews sojourned in those times, more especially of Akkadian and Egyptian, then the richest and most highly developed languages on both sides of Canaan." Dr. Yahuda proceeds to point out that in "such books which

were admittedly composed during and after the Exile" Babylonian influence in style and language is strongly apparent, while in the early books, such as Genesis, though there is a clear relation with the myths of Babylonia there is little Babylonian influence on the language. His argument is that a primitive spoken dialect will develop into a literary language by contact with a civilized power. He claims that the early Canaanite speech became the rich and flexible Hebrew by the influence of the high civilization of Egypt while Israel dwelt in that country, and he instances as an analogy the change in Arabic during the half-century of Mahomed's lifetime. The effect of a high civilization on a growing language is seen in the adoption of loan-words and technical terms, the invention of new words, the development of turns of speech and metaphors consonant with the foreign influence, and also the use of phrases and idioms which are in accord with the spirit of the language of the higher civilization. The author sets out to prove this contention by means of the language and by what can be learned from the language. In this volume he confines himself to the Egyptian influence discoverable in the books of Genesis and Exodus, but promises another volume in which the other foreign elements in the language of the Pentateuch will be discussed.

Dr. Yahuda is well equipped for his task. He is deeply read in Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages, his special study being the language of the Pentateuch. To these he adds ancient Egyptian, the main difficulty of which lies in the fact that it is the most recently studied of all ancient languages and is therefore not so fully understood as Hebrew and Greek. As knowledge of these ancient languages and scripts advances, there is no doubt that further connections between the various countries of antiquity will be found to have been closer than is generally admitted at present. Much is already known, but much more remains to be discovered, and this is specially true of Egypt and her influence on the Hebrew language and literature.

The sections dealing with the Joseph and Exodus narratives are in some ways the least important part of the book, for here Egyptian influence has always been acknowledged even by the most anti-Egyptian scholar. At the same time these two histories naturally show the cultural and linguistic relations between the two peoples. The story of Joseph, whether regarded as history or folk-tale, is peculiarly Egyptian in structure and detail as well as in incident. This has been admitted by all Biblical scholars, but Dr. Yahuda has brought forward much new linguistic material to the same effect. One of the most interesting points, perhaps because it is so unexpected, is in Gen. xl, 41, where the A.V. has "according to thy word shall my people be ruled", with "kissed" for "ruled" and "mouth" for "word" as marginal notes, the literal translation of the Hebrew is "according to thy mouth shall my people be kissed". The usage of the words *mouth* and *kiss* is entirely un-Hebraic, but in the case of the latter the word is the exact translation of the Egyptian *šn* which, though literally "to breathe", is ordinarily used for "to kiss". It occurs, however, with the meaning of "to eat" as early as the Pyramid Texts, which are written in the artificial language of religion as they were for the use of the Divine King when the ordinary tongue of the common people would have been considered out of place. The word *mouth* is again the exact rendering of the Egyptian idiom *ymī r* "he in whom is a mouth", which is the usual expression for an overseer or governor. The phrase is then an exact translation into Hebrew of the Egyptian, and rendered into English would read, "according to thy command shall my people eat." Joseph's remark to his brethren, "God has made me a father to Pharaoh," is another literal translation from the Egyptian; the Egyptian title "Father of God" has long been recognized as referring to some priestly office about the person of the Pharaoh, who in his official capacity was *ntr nfr* "the Good God". The meaning of the name Zaphnath-paaneah which Pharaoh gave to Joseph has been continually a source of

considerable speculation and of attempts at derivation ; it has always been recognized as of Egyptian origin. Dr. Yahuda's suggestion as to the origin and meaning, whether accurate or not, has the merit of accounting for the consonants and being suitable for the man to whom it was given. The suggestion is that the original Egyptian was *dfꜣ n tꜣ pw ‘nḫ* "The Living one is the food of the land", which alludes to Joseph's action in the seven years' famine. It would have been better had Dr. Yahuda used the full form of the participle *‘nḫy*, otherwise this translation of the name of Joseph conforms well to the rules of Egyptian grammar. Dr. Yahuda claims that the story is early and brings forward various arguments in support of the claim, among which is the fact that the King of Egypt is never mentioned by name, but is called by his title only, Pharaoh. This fact has been taken by most Biblical critics as proof of the unhistorical nature of the story ; they urge that had the author known the name of the Egyptian King he would certainly have recorded it and that the omission is conclusive proof that the narrative is entirely traditional or legendary. Dr. Yahuda points out that it was an ordinary Egyptian usage to speak of the reigning king as Pharaoh without mentioning the name ; therefore the omission of the name is not in itself a proof that the record was made later than the events recorded.

The history of the Exodus and of the events which led up to that migration has always been acknowledged by Biblical critics to contain Egyptian elements, as the scene is laid in the Nile Valley or the Delta. Egyptian concepts and words must therefore be expected, and Dr. Yahuda brings forward several which have not been previously noted. Thus the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is an Egyptian expression, for when the Hebrew is literally translated the heart is said to be *heavy* or *strong*. This is pure Egyptian ; as early as the Middle Kingdom the expression *dnś ỉb* "heavy of heart" is used for fixed determination, which in a bad sense would mean "stubborn", while *sḫm ỉb* "strong of heart" means

"arrogance". The words rendered in the A.V. as "And it came to pass in process of time" would read, if literally translated, "And it was in those many days". This is so near to the Egyptian phrase "Now after many days had passed over this", that it is clear that there is a close connection. One of the most convincing proofs of the connection in the language is in Ex. x, 14, 19, where Coast is used for Border, "there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt." This is the true translation of the Egyptian *r ḏr-f* "to its border", meaning "entire, whole, all", a phrase which is found in Coptic as ⲧⲏⲣ⸗ with the same meaning.

Even in the stories which are clearly Babylonian in origin, the Egyptian influence is marked. As Dr. Yahuda says, "how is it that Biblical stories which are so clearly related to Babylonian, yet betray features and elements so alien thereto? If it were possible to determine an Egyptian origin of these differing elements, both as to conception and mode of expression, we could decisively conclude that we have before us elements newly introduced into the Genesis stories in place of the original Babylonian elements, and that this process can only have operated in Egyptian surroundings. This can have occurred only in a period when, still under an active, living and most intimate Egyptian influence, the tendency developed to adopt old narratives to the conceptions of the new environment and to invest them with a new linguistic garb, whereof the framework would remain the same but the content would be composed of fresh materials in new form." One of the most characteristically Babylonian stories is the account of the Flood, yet even here there are a certain number of Egyptian words. The most important is the word used for the Ark, which is neither the usual Babylonian name for a ship nor even the word for the vessel built by the Babylonian prototype of Noah. The Hebrew *tebitu*, the Biblical name of the Ark, is so closely akin to the ordinary Egyptian word for a boat or ship, *dpt*, that it is impossible

not to conclude that they are the same. It is also the word used for the Ark of bulrushes in which Moses was floated on the river. Another connection of the Deluge story with Egypt is found in the words ascribed to God, "I will destroy man whom I have created" is almost word for word the same phrase as in the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead, "Moreover, I will blot out all that I have made, and the land shall come into the Nun [primeval waters] by means of a flood as was at the beginning." The gradual cessation of the Deluge, with the dates for the various periods of the drying up of the land, show an Egyptian origin. The inundation in Egypt was the most important annual event for the agriculturist, and its progress was marked by festivals. The length of time from the beginning of the Deluge till it reached its height is one hundred and fifty days, which is the same as the whole of the Egyptian inundation. The fall of the water is divided into three stages, which again coincide with the Egyptian phenomena; the first is when the mountains become visible, and in passing it may be observed that the Egyptian *dw*, Mountain, becomes in Coptic ⲧⲟⲟⲩ, which may mean both Mountain and Desert. The second period of the fall of the Flood was when the surface of the earth became dry, and the third period when the whole earth was dried up. This description exactly fits Egypt during the fall of the Nile. It is very clear, then, that the Biblical conception of the Flood as the inundation of the Nile Valley has been taken over and interwoven in the Biblical narrative. Another interesting connection with Egypt is the height of the Flood, "fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail," the normal height of High Nile being fifteen cubits or a little over.

Though punning origins of names are found in other parts of the world this is perhaps more common in Egypt than elsewhere. Every Egyptologist knows the story of the birth of the three Kings of the Vth dynasty, and how they were named by Isis. The puns there given are not isolated instances of such derivations of names. The Egyptian word *rmṯ*, Man, is derived from *rmy*, To weep, with its noun *rmy-t*, A tear, and

is accounted for by the myth of Man being created from the tears of the Sun-god. The Pyramid Texts are full of such puns, so also is the myth of Horus of Edfu, which though late in actual language is early in content. The story of the birth of twins in Gen. xxxviii, 27 ff., is parallel with the tale in the Westcar Papyrus, even to the punning on the names by the midwife. The names of festivals are derived in the same way from the utterance of a god in Egypt or of a hero, of an angel, or of a celebrated personage in Israel; while place-names are taken from an actual or mythical event which occurred at the spot, e.g. Jacob called the name of the place Peniel Face of God, "for I have seen God face to face." It should be noted that the names are not mere priestly inventions, but were actual places and festivals. Dr. Yahuda makes the interesting suggestion that, during a conquest, "by the assignment of a new name the conquest of that place is documented, so that it may actually serve as a title to its possession for all time." In this connection the phrase, "it is so called unto this day," becomes of great importance. It clearly means "for all time", and is so used in Egyptian and in the early books of the Bible. "The Lord hath destroyed them [the Egyptians] unto this day" certainly has that meaning. But, as Dr. Yahuda points out, in the later Biblical books, when Egyptian influence had weakened, it is no longer used as a self-contained phrase without relation to other times, but mostly as a *terminus ad quem* following a *terminus a quo* · "Since the going forth from Egypt until this day."

In the Moses story Dr. Yahuda calls attention to the fact that in the one verse, Exodus ii, 3, four Egyptian loan-words are used, though there were other words equally suitable. Phrases which are analogous in Egyptian and Hebrew are also interesting. Thus in the Hebrew story of Korah "the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up", while in the Egyptian text the words are, "the earth hath opened his mouth, Geb hath flung open his jaws."

(*To be continued*)

872. M. A. MURRAY.

PERSIA. By Sir ARNOLD WILSON. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER. The Modern World Series. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvi + 400. London: Ernest Benn, Limited, 1932. 21s.

This excellent book deals with modern Persia, and contains only so much reference to its past history and literature as is necessary for a proper understanding of the present position. That it is interesting may be taken for granted, for, by common consent, Persia is an interesting country, and Sir Arnold Wilson a competent and attractive writer. Moreover, he is an admirer of the Persian people, he appreciates their many good points and sympathizes with their efforts to join the ranks of civilized nations. Those who get their ideas of Persian character from the pages of Haji Baba will do well to read what Sir Arnold writes in Chapter xii on the Persian military record, and the natural martial qualities of Persian men. The truth is that Bakhtiari and Turki tribesmen and the peasantry of certain parts form excellent military material, while the townsfolk are less warlike.

It is said that the population has not increased in modern times. Sir Arnold Wilson examines the possible causes of this stagnation, and comes to no definite conclusion. A country's urban population can hardly increase unless there is some marked development of industrialism; and there has been no such thing in Persia until quite lately. The countryside can only feed larger numbers if irrigation is maintained and improved. Our author explains that, on the contrary, irrigation has declined since earlier ages. A stationary, if not dwindling, population appears, therefore, to have been a physical necessity of the case.

For conveniently arranged information as to modern administrative methods and developments the book is invaluable. There are, perhaps inevitably, a few minor defects. The copy supplied for review has been bound without the Editor's Preface, although it is mentioned on the title page,

and again in the table of contents. Certain expressions and statements may fairly be criticized. For example: "Nasir i Khusrawi" (p. 117), "the tenets of the Ithn Ja'fariya or the Ithn Ashariya" (p. 159), "a well-known ode by the great mystic Shams i Tabriz" (p. 188), "Locusts are never mentioned . . . in any early Persian literature" (p. 368), "We have no certain knowledge of the subject (plague epidemics) previous to 1773–4" (p. 370). Locusts (ملخ) are mentioned in the Gulistan, and Tabriz was ravaged by plague (طاعون) in 1539 and 1543.

699 C. N. SEDDON.

THE PERSIAN MYSTICS: 'AṬṬĀR. By MARGARET SMITH. Wisdom of the East Series. 6½ + 4¾, pp. 104. London: John Murray. 3*s*. 6*d*.

This little book is one of the well-known Wisdom of the East Series, and may be compared with the earlier volumes by F. Hadland Davis on Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī and Jāmī. A pleasing and well-written introduction deals with 'Attār's life and the Ṣūfī doctrines which he expounds It is followed by short extracts in English from 'Aṭṭār's works. The translations are free, but they catch the spirit of the original, and they are well selected so as to illustrate the developments of Sufiistic doctrine and ideas. It is not everyone that can sympathize with these ideas, but anyone to whom Sufiistic mysticism appeals will find pleasure and profit in the pleasing presentation here offered.

523 C. N. SEDDON

תולדות הערבים והמוסלמים בארץ ישראל (HISTORY OF THE ARABS AND THE MUSLIMS IN PALESTINE). By ZEEB VILNÂY. 2 vols. 7 × 5. Vol. I, pp. 180, ills. 5, maps 2; Vol. II, pp. 192, ills. 4. Tel-Aviv: A. J. Stybel, 1932.

South-Arabian epigraphy, which has shed so much light on the history and politics of pre-Islamic Arabia, has done

little to elucidate its relations with Palestine, besides confirming the fact of early immigration into the latter country, already inferred from local and personal names. For the pre-Islamic period the author of this work has had to obtain material from casual notices chiefly in the Old Testament and the Jewish Oral Tradition, which do not fill many pages. But even after the Islamic conquest of Palestine, in spite of the sanctity attached to certain sites, the country occupies small space in the chronicles till the time of the Crusades : attention was focussed upon it while those struggles lasted, but was withdrawn when the enterprise of the Franks had finally collapsed. Mr. Vilnây has collected references to the condition of the country under its different rulers with skill and industry, and his second volume, which deals mainly with the Turkish and British periods, contains statistical information of great value and interest. Although the language in which he writes shows that he addresses Jewish readers, his treatment of the events which have followed the Balfour Declaration is objective and free from bias.

The etymologies offered are at times untrustworthy. "Admiral" is usually supposed to come from امير البحر, not امير الماء. "Sheriff" is derived from "shire-reve", and has no connection with the Arabic شريف. "Algebra" is from the Arabic الجبر "putting together", not from الكبير. These etymologies are to be found on p. 160. Since قميص is found in the Qur'an, it should not be included among the European names for garments introduced by the Crusaders (p. 161). The correct etymology of "Turcoman" appears to be from ترك with Persian مان "resembling", not from the first element with the Arabic إيمان "faith" (p. 276).

Certain other errors of detail should have been avoided. The French conquest of Algiers is wrongly dated 1820, in lieu

of 1832 (p. 272). The name of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s father (ibid.) is almost unrecognizable as מלחיא אלדין for Muḥyi’d-dīn. These and the like can easily be set right should the work reach another edition.

676. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

WHITHER ISLAM? A SURVEY OF MODERN MOVEMENTS IN THE MOSLEM WORLD. Edited by Professor GIBB. 8½ × 5½, pp. 384, map 1. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1932. 15s.

The public appetite for works dealing with the present condition and prospects of Islam would seem to be as keen as its taste for descriptions of Soviet Russia. Professor Gibb’s method of gratifying this desire bears some resemblance to, though it is not altogether identical with, the procedure of a Royal Commission. After introducing the subject in an essay of sixty-four pages he hears the evidence of four highly expert witnesses, M. Massignon for French Africa, Herr Kampffmeyer for Egypt and Western Asia, Colonel M. L. Ferrar for India, and Mijnheer Berg for Indonesia; he then devotes sixty-five pages to summing up. Since any one who expresses an opinion on this subject *incedit per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*, it is undesirable in this journal to approve or disapprove the writers’ statements and conclusions. The matter communicated by the Dutch scholar will probably be the least familiar to English readers, who as a rule know little of Java or Sumatra. Herr Kampffmeyer’s enthusiasm for the Young Men’s Moslem Association is likely to attract considerable attention. Colonel Ferrar’s chronology and statistics will be found exceedingly useful. M. Massignon’s paper is full of valuable information. Finally, Professor Gibb’s summing up is to be commended both for its exposition of the results to which the evidence leads and for the contributions which it makes to the witnesses’ depositions.

685. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Songs of the Druzes: Transliterations, Translations, and Comments. By Aapeli Saarisalo. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. viii + 144. Helsingfors: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 1932.

Literature belonging to the Druze community is rather scanty, so that this addition to it will be welcomed. It is a collection of thirty-three odes, mainly erotic in character, and containing little that is distinctively Druze, save in dialect, unless indeed the verses have some mystic sense, such as is found in the poems of Ḥāfiẓ. An exception is found in No. XIII, an ode addressed to 'Alī, but even this apparently contains nothing which might not be said by any of the Shi'ah. The first stanza runs :—

'alī fīk‿aṯ-ṭarıṛ bıqūl wınẓām
yā asaf 'amr minnak māt winẓām
'alī yā ḫalᵉf ḥızb‿ıllāh wınẓāṃ
in-naṣ'r mın foq sefak munkatıb

translated

Ali, the people praise you,
O the regret of Amr for you he died and was angry,
O Ali, he who is followed by the tribe of God and who commands,
On your sword is written the victory from above (God).

The following is the comment :—

1 : 1 *winẓām* from the subst. *naẓm* ; 1 · 2, *wınzām* from the verb *inẓāma* ; 1 : 3, *wınzām* from the subst. *nıẓām*, pro *naḍām* ; 1 : 1, means literally " the mouth speaks a rhyme about you ".

It is permissible to doubt the accuracy of the explanations without venturing to suggest anything better. It must be supposed that the 'Amr of line 2 is 'Amr b. al-'As, who according to the Fakhri (a Shi'ite work) after helping Mu-'awiyah to get the better of 'Alī expressed the opinion that 'Alī had been in the right and Mu'āwiyah in the wrong.

The statement that 'Alī in this ode is represented as a mythological being (7 : 2, 8 : 1) seems something of an exaggeration.

The author admits (it would seem) that some of the poems are current elsewhere than among the Druzes. Thus of xx he says : "This song was imported to Palestine during the Great War by Egyptian soldiers." Perhaps then the title is slightly misleading ; in any case the material collected is deserving of careful study.

737 D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF GREGORY ABÛ'L FARAJ, COMMONLY KNOWN AS BAR HEBRAEUS. Edited and translated from the Syriac by Sir Ernest A WALLIS BUDGE. 9¾ × 6, Vol. I : pp lxiv + 582, pls. 8 ; Vol. II, pp. lvi + 402. London Oxford University Press, 1932. Two vols. £5 5s.

Sir Ernest Budge's indefatigable industry has again presented us with two stout volumes, one being a facsimile of the Bodleian MS., Hunt. No. 52, the other a translation of this well-known Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, most voluminous of Syriac writers, and one of the two chief authors of his nation, the other, nine centuries earlier, being St. Ephrem Syrus.

This book has already been printed twice and translated, in 1788 by Dr. P. J. Bruns, Professor of Oriental Languages at Helmstadt, in association with Dr. G. G. Kirsch, Rector of the Hof Gymnasium of Bayreuth. This edition was a bold and painstaking attempt in the then condition of lexicography, for it was only in that same year that J.D. Michaelis published his Syriac Dictionary separated from the Hexaglot Lexicon of Edmund Castell.

Then le Père Bedjan, a Chaldæan priest, crowned a series of Syriac books, excellently printed by Drugulin of Leipzig, with an edition in Nestorian type of the Chronicle of Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, This edition of 1890 is now almost exhausted,

although still in request; it is of a very convenient *format* and size. Bedjan had the great advantage of many notes by Bernstein and other scholars on the earlier edition of Bruns. It is from his text that Dr. Budge translates. If we compare this with the Rotograph we find few variants, but occasional omissions.

Partly on account of Bedjan using, for the sake of his compatriots, the less known alphabet, also because the printing of Oriental works tends to heavy expense, further because branches of photography have made great progress, Sir Ernest Wallis Budge determined on a reproduction of a MS. rather than a reprint. This MS. is in the better-known Jacobite or Maronite script; it is clear, and affords good practice in the reading of MSS.. also in such a case, provided a trustworthy MS. is chosen, the margin of error is small.

The selected MS. is one owned by the Bodleian Library, Hunt. 52, this and Hunt. 1 were used by Professor Bruns, that of le Père Bedjan was based chiefly on MSS. of the Vatican, but collated with MSS. of other great Libraries. This facsimile is a fine piece of work, beautifully clear and easy to read. With the extra margin of white paper beyond the black of the manuscript page it necessarily forms a thick volume, and the English translation, in large, clear print, must match in size. Sir Ernest has refrained from encumbering either volume with notes, although he had contemplated a thorough working through of the whole work, with corrections of mistakes in history, explanations of difficult passages and expressions, and further "full reference to modern printed Oriental literature". So, as frequently, the Best is the enemy of the Good, and the student must search for himself. Dr. Budge is better than his word: he adopts Bedjan's notes, and often explains names in the text; where he does explain his notes are very useful, e.g. *zuze Nasraye coins of Saladin En-Nasir,* p. 431, ult. but on p. 457 he translates "Christian zuze". In this case as in that of "Yarlikhe or Yarlike, a Royal Mongol permit", giving these in the Index would have

been preferable as easier of reference and avoiding repetition. Further, he gives 63 pages of information about the Life and Writings of Bar Hebraeus, and a description with illustrations of the monastery of Mar Mattai on Jebel Maklub where Bar Hebraeus is buried.

Sir Ernest prefers transliteration to translation, e.g. "Abharis or Abares" to *Avars*, p 83, and "Asklabone" ib. for *Slavonians* or *Slavs*, but on the next page he gives Slavs; "Akko" for *Acre*, pp. 238, etc. It is puzzling to find the "river Alis" for the *Halys*, p. 288, and "Alix" for Alexius, son of the Emperor Manuel, pp. 309, 312; "Aukhatai" usually written Ogatai, son and successor of Chingiz Khan, p. 383; "Boduin" for *Baudouin* or *Baldwin*, and so with other names of Crusaders; "Prayns" for *Prince*, p. 283, and often. For *Cathay* we find "Kata" or "Khata", pp. 347, 419, and for *Cathayans* "Kataye" or Khataye, p. 397, but once he adds the usual spelling, p. 354; "Mawsil" for *Mosul*, p 111, and throughout. More perplexing is the frequent writing of "Hulabu" for *Hulagu*, the well-known first Il-Khan, grandson of Chingiz Khan. Yet once Hulagu is given, p. xvi, and once Hulaku, p. 398.

There are remarkably few misprints. Zain for Dalath p. xlii; "Unti" Khan in the Index for *Unk* Khan, p. 352, six times. Correct also "Marna" p. 55 to *Mamaea*, mother of Alexander Severus.

We venture on a few suggestions, p. 86, not "house of weeping" but (they made) *lamentation*: for "doer of his good works" read *his benefactor*, ib. p. 387, 8. "amarkuba" is cotton; and blue cotton cloth is worn by the poor: it was worn by Ala Ad-Din from a love of simplicity: p. 448, 13, not "Mar Saint" but the *Venerable Bishop* (Henan Isho). p. 127, 3, the Kaisaye or Kaisites, more commonly called Ma-addites, were Northern Arabs, one of the two chief divisions of the race: Kais was a descendant of Ma-add. p. 180 ult. "Dukas Domesticus" is a title *Chief of the Body Guard* or *of the Household Troops*, and so p. 169, thrice.

p. 79, "papelion" is Lat. *pavilio, tent.* Lovers of Constantinople would prefer *Porphyry* to "Purple" *pillar*, p. 76; it is familiar as "the Burnt Column" to all passing along the high road in Istanbul.

680. † J. P. MARGOLIOUTH.

HINDUSTANI PHONETICS. By MOHIUDDIN QADRI. 7½ × 4¾, pp. 116, Figs. 77. Villeneuve St. Georges: Imprimerie L'Union Typographique, 1931. 4*s.* 6*d.*

This little volume, by an old student of mine, contains an interesting account of the pronunciation of Urdu as spoken by educated Dakhnis. The book proper begins on p. 15; the first fourteen pages are given to a historical statement of the reason for the difference between northern and Dakhni Urdu. The next sixteen pages give details of this difference so far as concerns morphology. The last seventy pages discuss the phonetics of the language. In a short review one cannot go much into this. We do not yet know much about the subject, and many points are doubtful. There is need, too, for much more investigation into Urdu stress, both its nature and its incidence.

The most valuable section is that on assimilation, which in Urdu is almost always regressive. There are a considerable number of diagrams, mostly palatograms. Unfortunately it is difficult to get much information from palatograms, for they are generally rather unreliable.

A book like this, containing a good deal of pioneer work, must be regarded as a draft. If a second edition is called for the author will be able to introduce changes and improvements. I would suggest that consideration be given to the following points *inter alia.*

p. 50. "*i* is usually long." It is long only in certain positions, otherwise it is short.

pp. 54, 55. Diphthongs *āo*, *āe*, as in *nāo* "boat", *rāe*

"opinion". These are two separate vowels, not diphthongs. So to *iu* and *eo* on p. 56.

p. 55. *aī* is said never to be final. It is final in *baṛhaī* "carpenter", *kaī* "several", etc.

pp. 57–60. Vowels followed by *nūn i gunna* are said to be nasal. This is a mistake commonly made in India. The vowel preceding *nūn i gunna* in *banda, gunca,* is no more nasal than that in *ban* or *tun.*

In some places the author merely assumes that pronunciation follows ordinary orthography.

However, all such things are inevitable in early work, and we may anticipate correction in the near future.

In the meantime we accord our hearty congratulation to the author, and wish him a speedy demand for a revised edition.

511. T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* OF MĀDHAVABHAṬṬA (SON OF VENKAṬĀRYA). Ed. by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxxii + 96 + clxiv. Madras. University of Madras, 1932. Rs. 3/8 (India): 7*s.* (foreign).

This is an edition of the verses introducing each *Aṣṭaka* and *Adhyāya* found in some MSS. of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* of Mādhava, whom Sāyaṇa quotes on *RV.* x, 86, 1. The editor points out that the title he has given the work is due to confusion with a *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* by a different Mādhava mentioned by Devarāja. These verses indeed are not an *Anukramaṇī* at all; nor are they part of the commentary proper, but in the nature of short essays on eight general topics, viz.: accent, verbs, *nipātas, āvṛtti,* the Ṛṣis, metre, the Deities, and interpretation. Each is artificially divided into eight sections, to correspond with the *Adhyāyas.* Illustrative quotations from the hymns are fitted into the *ślokas* in which the work is mainly composed, and although no subject is treated fully the manner of treatment is quite

enlightened. The author shows due but not excessive regard for traditional views, referring often to the *Nirukta* and the *Bṛhaddevatā*, to the Vedāṅgas, and the Brāhmaṇas. He emphasizes the importance of considering parallel passages for interpretation, and gives valuable information on accent, use of tenses, metre, and the Ṛṣis of the hymns.

Dr. Kunhan Raja has produced a satisfactory text from a correlation of six MSS., with an interesting introduction discussing the author's identity and date, a list of variant readings, references to all quotations, and an index of stanzas. At the end is a tentative edition, from one defective MS., of the sections on names and verbs of the other Mādhava's *Anukramaṇī*, mentioned by Devarāja.

684 C. A. RYLANDS.

CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI BIBLIOTHECAE UNIVERSITATIS HAFNIENSIS. Vol. I: The Pahlavi Codices K20 and K20*b*. Published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen, with an introduction by ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. pp. xvi + 388, 1931. Vol. II. The Pahlavi Codex K26. pp. viii + 106, 13 × 9¼. Copenhagen: University Library, 1932.

These first two volumes of the *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici* of the University of Copenhagen are the first-fruits of a project planned as long ago as 1912. It is well known that MSS., some of the oldest extant in Avestan and Pahlavi, were brought early last century from India and Persia by Rask and Westergaard, and have been preserved in Copenhagen. Their condition made it impossible that they should be sent out of the country, so that scholars had perforce to make special journeys to consult them. These disadvantages were somewhat remedied by the facilities provided by photographs of folios of MSS., of which I have myself been happy to take advantage. But with these two splendid volumes this

undesirable state of things is already modified and should, when the whole series is complete, be entirely removed.

Vol. I, containing the facsimile of K20, includes twenty texts of varying lengths, both Pahlavi and Avestan. These are as follows :—

(1) Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak.
(2) Mātiyān i Yavišt i Friyān.
(3) The Length of a Man's Shadow.
(4) Yašt fragment.
(5) Ahriman and Ēšm.
(6) Šāyast nē Šāyast.
(7) Frahang i Oīm.
(8) Bundahišn.
(9) Vahman Yašt.
(10) Andarz i Ōšnar i dānāk.
(11) Mātiyān i Gijastak Abāliš.
(12) Āturpāt i Mārspand's Answers to the King.
(13) Yašt fragment.
(14) Srōš Yašt Haδōxt.
(15) Yasna extracts.
(16) On the Recital of the Yaθā ahū vairyō.
(17) A Pahlavi Rivāyat.
(18) Čim i gāsān.
(19) The Drōn Offering.
(20) Patīt.

Of these, Nos. 4, 7, 13, 14, 15 are Avestan texts with Pahlavi glosses. Nos. 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 have not before been accessible in the original. The others could be had in editions and translations of varying excellence.

The importance of the volume is therefore evident, since only facsimiles can satisfy the needs of Pahlavi studies. Printed editions inevitably modify the text, making it more difficult to read by confusing additional signs and dissolving the ligatures. The age of K20, it being of the fourteenth century, adds to its importance. So it is now that we have the Pahlavi original of, for example, the Šāyast nē Šāyast, which was recently published in transcription only, leaving the reader very much in the dark as to the actual works written in the MS.

K20*b* contains one folio of older date and twenty later folios of an independent MS. of the Shorter Bundahišn.

The second volume offers the facsimile of K26, which has

fifty-three folios, the remnant of a larger codex, containing the text of the Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak, and portion of the tale of Yavišt i Friyān.

Both volumes are finely produced. The reproductions give excellent readable texts. The third volume containing K35 will be awaited with high hopes. The University of Copenhagen is to be greatly congratulated on the two first volumes of a most important series.

857 H. W. BAILEY.

HILFSBUCH DES PEHLEVI. Vol. II, Glossar. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxi + 302. Uppsala : In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, and A. B. Lundequistka Bokhandeln, Uppsala, 1931.

With the publication of this Glossar, forming Part II of the Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, of which Part I appeared in 1928, Pahlavi studies have at last begun to receive something of their due. It is a book which must prove of invaluable service. In spite of its restricted scope—it is intended to be used with the first part—the author has brought together a mass of material which enables one in every case to test the results of recent researches. How much I personally owe to the work of Professor Nyberg it would be difficult to estimate. When therefore suggestions differing from those proposed in the book are offered it is with the hope of making it still more useful. One general remark may be prefixed. The problem of the final *-ē* in the transcribed words seems not yet to be fully threshed out. Against its presence in the official language of Sasanian times is the fact that it is absent from the Turfan Mid. Iranian texts. In the Sasanian inscriptions, too, we find Pahlavīk *av aryān štr rvny* beside Pārsīk *av ērān štry rvny*. A final *y* appears also at the end of verb forms. No reliance can be placed on the scribes of Pahl. MSS.

Space does not permit more than a few notes here.

**brāδ* [illegible] is explained by the phrase in *SGV*. 4. 47, *ažēr*

brih i mihir, Skt. *adhaḥ tejasā sūryasya*, and by the corresponding phrase in GrBd. 57, 8, *hač rāy i xvaršēt*. It is the same word as the frequent براه *brāh* (or *brēh*) "shining", which appears here under **baxš*. Both words belong to the verb *brag* "to shine". Cf. DkM. 283, 16 f, *čēgōn bām hač paırōk ut paırōk hač brāh brāh hač rōšnīh*.

**dastr* cannot be sustained. It forms with the preceding signs part of the word *āturastar* (or *āturıstar*) "ashes". Cf. the phrase in Zātspram 1, 25, *siyā ut āturastar-gōn*. Hence here in GrBd 11, 11, read *sıyāīh ı āturastar*. Cf. *siyāīh* in GrBd. 161, 15.

**truftak* need not be doubted. Bērūnī has *masrūq* and *mustarıq* in the same sense (*Chron.*, p. 43). Munjānī has *t'rıf-*: *trəft* "to steal".

**avīkān* should probably be read *hanbasān* with the Pāzand. Its etymology could be **ham-pat-s-* "to meet, attack".

In *BSOS* viii, 79, I have proposed *kārdāk* "wanderer", in place of *kārəδahak*.

Apart from these and other details, mainly in connection with rare words, the book must remain for a long time an indispensable aid in Pahlavi studies.

269 H. W. BAILEY.

NOTES SUR L'AFGHANISTAN. Par MAURICE FOUCHET. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 228. Paris Éditions Maisonneuve Frères, 1931. 20 frs.

The author of this little book was appointed in 1923 first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at the Court of the King of Afghanistan, and he unfortunately died at sea on his way home on leave in the autumn of 1924. We cannot, therefore, be surprised if we find a record of first impressions rather than a work of profound knowledge and experience.

In the short space at his command, M. Fouchet attempts

to cover a very wide field. He begins by giving us a description of his journey to Kabul, of Kabul itself, and of the newly-planned capital Dār ul Islām. He then disposes in a few pages of the "Remote Provinces" and the general system of Government, and proceeds to deal with the people in chapters devoted to their religious and moral life and their political and economic circumstances.

Forty pages are allotted to the history of Afghanistan from the earliest times down to the end of the nineteenth century, and the work is brought to a conclusion with sixty pages on "The Present". When it is added that space is found for the writer's views on such various topics as the career of Babur and the political situation in India in 1924, it will be realized that we cannot look for an exhaustive treatise on Afghanistan past or present, and that we must accept the title "Notes" as not unduly modest.

As with most first-impressionists, M. Fouchet is most successful in his description of the physical setting, and those who like romantic descriptions of natural phenomena will doubtless enjoy his quasi lyrical outbursts. They will share his thrills as he approaches Kabul under the threat of nightfall :—

"Il importe de gagner Kaboul avant que la nuit rende tragiques des passages dantesque. . . . Des vallées s'ouvrent, longues comme l'oubli et profondes comme la mort. . . . Le soleil tombe, les ombres noircissent les hauteurs, des fleurs bleues achèvent de mourir parmi les pierres, dans un parfum nostalgique où passent, en boufées, les souvenirs lointains. Le soir s'étend . . ."

He is similarly moved by the romance of history, and we have apostrophes to Delhi and to Babur.

In estimating human character and assessing political probabilities he is less skilled. His sketch of the personality of Amanullah is quite superficial. The King remains a lay-figure. Though endowed with a "sens politique étonnant chez un homme de son âge", his "superiority" can only

be noted, not explained. His scheme of reforms is described in outline and, while the author notes their unpopularity in certain quarters and has earlier explained the "relative" nature of Amanullah's authority over the tribes, he does not appear to have foreseen the inevitable *débâcle*. The moral of the book is based on quite another outcome :—

"Période critique, par conséquent, que celle qui s'ouvre pour le nouvel État ! (due to a possible entente between Britain and Russia). L'Émir de Kaboul verra-t-il assez clair pour faire décidément l'appel à la France ? . . . La France est le seul pays capable de donner à l'Afghanistan la consolidation nécessaire, la France dont le concours désintéressé ne peut porter ombrage à personne, la France dont les penseurs, artistes, techniciens sont toujours prêts à se dévouer partout où il est possible de contribuer au progrès ! . . . En consentant à se faire représenter à Kaboul la France n'a obéi qu'à son instinct généreux de paraître là où il y a une œuvre à accomplir, un peu de la lumière qui lui est propre à répandre, alors que les autres peuples n'ont que des préoccupations de comptoirs ou de bureaux de placement."

The realization of these philanthropic ambitions now appears rather remote.

After all, as the author concludes "Sur les cimes neigeuses ou dorées qui encerclent le plateau de Kaboul, le vent glacial ou brûlant ne cesse de glisser éternellement, indifférent aux formes transitoires de ce qui dure dans l'Esprit de Dieu, et emportant vers l'immuable silence, le balbutiement des lèvres humaines."

Leaving these heights one may express regret that the proofs of the book do not appear to have been revised by any competent hand. There are many errors in the representations of proper names.

595 D. L. R. LORIMER.

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINE VILLAGE. By HILMA GRANQUIST. Societas Scientiarum Fennica; Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, iii, 8. 9½ × 6½, pp. viii + 200. Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1931. RM. 75.

The author of this volume arrived at Jerusalem in August, 1925, in order to complete on the spot the study of *The Women of the Old Testament* which she had been prosecuting in the libraries of Europe, and attended an archæological class under Professor A. Alt at the "Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes" in Jerusalem.

She then decided to continue her studies by the observation of native life at Arṭās, a Muhammadan Arab village south of Bethlehem. There she had the assistance of Miss Louise Baldensperger, sister of the author of *The Immovable East,* who had lived and studied folklore in Arṭās for thirty years and thoroughly knew the village people, and also of two Arab women, 'Alya Ibrahīm and Ḥamdiye Sanad.

The author's researches besides being confined to the small area of Artās (by no means a disadvantage), were also restricted to the marriage history of four different clans and six groups in Arṭās during the last one hundred years, that is to say, as far back as the memory of the people would reach.

The book consists of an introduction giving the circumstances under which it was conceived, and four chapters on the method of investigation, the age of marriage (betrothal at birth, child betrothal, and reasons for child and early marriage), the choice of the bride (by whom chosen and from which circles, and how a stranger bride is found), and marriage by consideration (exchange of bride for bride, bride price, and discussion of bride purchase). In addition there are for each of the ten clans and groups genealogical trees, marriage lists and marriage tables, a plan showing marriages with strangers, and a list of references to other works.

The book was recommended to the Societas Scientiarum Fennica by Professor Edward Westermarck, the author of the *History of Human Marriage* and Professor Rafael Karsten, and the former spoke very highly of it in his report to the Åbo Akademi, Finland, to which the author had applied for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Indeed, after a careful perusal of the book (which is in the nature of it very detailed) all one can do is to endorse Professor Westermarck's opinion.

The book contains several facts, he says, which have hitherto been considered little or not at all, facts, indeed, which could only be collected by a woman research worker in a Muhammadan country. Professor Westermarck regards the author as having discharged her task with knowledge and minute exactness, and her essentially statistical and genealogical methods as being particularly suitable to it.

The genealogical method is one which can only be applied to a small community, and is not without its disadvantages, but Professor Westermarck considers that although the intensive study of a limited area has not infrequently tempted the research worker to make more extensive deductions than the material justifies, this is not a charge which can be brought against the writer of this book. In fact, far from exceeding the warranty of her facts, she has in her many notes quoted parallels which she has found in literature concerning other spheres of Arabic culture, and has thus increased the value of her thesis. Valuable also is the richness of detail which the small area studied has made possible.

In regard to chapter iii (Choice of the Bride), as Professor Westermarck says, the main point lies in the treatment of the general Muhammadan custom of marrying a man to his father's brother's daughter, one reason for this being, in Palestine as in Morocco, the safety it is considered to give the husband from becoming the object of his wife's curses; the most important causes are, however, economic, such marriages keeping the property within the family and being less costly.

Professor Westermarck also draws attention to the interest of the author's parallels between endogamous and exogamous marriages in Arṭās and among the Old Testament Jews. She relates the prevailing lack of women in Arṭās to the numerous cousin marriages in accordance with the Professor's own hypothesis that inbreeding has a tendency to increase male births. She states that marriage between cousins is very usual in the one great clan which is strictly monogamous, showing that inbreeding can lead to monogamy, just as it can, as Professor Westermarck has tried to show, be assumed as a reason for polyandry.

The life and colour given by the author's presentation, by frequent literal translations, of the statements made by her native informers are alluded to, and indeed the book is very rich in this kind of interest.

After referring to the sociological value of the author's work, and stating that her efforts have led to valuable results not only in the shape of the collected material, but also the conclusions she has deduced therefrom, Professor Westermarck ends by saying that she has succeeded in obtaining for her subject points of view of considerable general interest, and that, whilst the questions she treats of are not numerous, it must be remembered that the present volume is only the first-fruits of her three years' work in Palestine and also in Germany and England.

The continuation of the thesis is practically ready in Swedish and contains a similarly detailed presentation of the other sides of marriage conditions in Artās · betrothal and marriage ceremonies, the woman in her husband's house, polygyny, divorce, and widowhood.

Its appearance will be awaited with interest.

E. B. W. Chappelow.

A Manual of Pāli. Being a graduated course of Pāli for beginners: Second edition. By C. V. Joshi. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 152. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1931. Rs. 2.

The *Manual of Pāli*, by C. V. Joshi, formerly Professor of Pāli and Marathi at University College Baroda, is a handy little volume, now issued in a second edition. It is primarily intended for Indian students (as the use of Devanāgarī indicates) and forms a graduated course in twenty-three lessons well arranged and provided with copious exercises for translation from Pāli as well as from English. The glossaries added are in both these languages. As there is a dearth of purely linguistic manuals of Pāli, we would welcome it as a text-book for our own prospective students of Pāli, were it not for the foreign alphabet. When, however, learning Pāli on the basis of Sanskrit, it is excellent and in its methodical treatment of the language preferable to Sumangala's Pāli Course which is similar in style and arrangement.

791. W. Stede.

The Secret Lore of India and the One Perfect Life for All. By W. M. Teape. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xviii + 346. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1932. 12*s.* 6*d.*

In view of the marked revival of interest in the Upanishads (not only in theosophical circles, but also in quarters where one would scarcely expect it) this book is to be welcomed as a guide to and interpreter of the "Secret Lore" of India. Its chief value lies in its scope as being not a one-sided, philological or metaphysical or historical discussion of the Upanishadic "problem", but an attempt to approach and understand the teachings themselves from a purely human point of view, as evidence of the living Truth and as manifestations of the Spiritual Reality as the goal of all human search. In other words, it does not discuss the Ātman as an object of

analysis, but it brings "Him" home to the heart of the reader as a personal experience. One may say that the author follows the example of the Sages at the close of the Vedic period who found the "kinsman of the Real in the Unreal when searching in their own hearts with adoration". It is a psychological approach to the Self through the whole of the self. In this process the historical interpretation is insufficient since it looks only backward and does not deal with the vision of the ever-present Reality in the eternal Now.

The author has been successful in his task to expound the two fundamental principles of Upanishad wisdom, viz. universality and unity of spirit (soul) in a variety of ways and with copious analogies of similar symptoms in other spheres of religious and mystic thought.

After an introduction in which a survey of the sacred tradition is given, the author presents twenty-four selections from the principal Upanishads (Brihadāraṇyaka prevailing, followed by Chāndogya and a few from the poetical ones), all translated into verse. It was a happy inspiration which made him use the medium of poetry for the expression of the sublime ideas of the Upanishads even when the original was in prose. The language of intuition and mysticism is rhyme and rhythm, as the truest expression of the spirit of man is music. The selections are followed by critical and constructive notes on language, subject-matter, and treatment of the theme by other authors, and a vocabulary of important Sanskrit words occurring in the Upanishads. The last 100 pages are taken up by a hermeneutical presentation of the "Self", as implied in the sub-title of the work, viz. "The One Perfect Life for All", for which the author is well equipped in his capacity as practical theologian. Various appendices conclude the absorbingly interesting and stimulating book.

W. STEDE.

Extrait de l'histoire de l'Égypte. Vol. II, par Aḥmad Ibn Iyâs. Traduit de l'Arabe par Mme R. L. Devonshire. Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Tome xxxiv. 11 × 8, pp. 29, 3 plates. Cairo, 1933.

This is a continuation of a translation of which the first section appeared in the *Bulletin* for 1924, and the period covered extends from 841/1437 to 857/1453, including the whole of the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq. The illustrations consist of photographs of monuments of the time of the text. Mrs. Devonshire has added some helpful notes to the translation, concerning topographical administrative points and other matters that require explanation. She has grappled successfully with many difficulties of translation and all students of Mamluk history will find her work useful. She proposes to continue it still further, and when she reaches the interesting reign of the last great Mamluk Sultan El Ghûrî, will have the advantage of the far superior text of Ibn Iyâs brought out recently by M. Paul Kahle and Muhammad Muṣṭafâ.

N.R 20 R. Guest.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

British Museum

An extensive scheme of reconstruction on the northern wing of the British Museum will involve the closing of all the rooms on the upper floor in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, save the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms. The objects from these exhibition galleries will, for the most part, have to be packed away and will be inaccessible until the reconstruction is completed. The attention of scholars is requested to this point, and they are informed that these galleries will be shut on 1st October.

This reconstruction will also necessitate the demolition of the present Students' Room. It is hoped to provide temporary accommodation elsewhere, so that scholars may have access to tablets and papyri; but this work will take several months. The Students' Room will be shut as from Monday, 16th October, 1933; a statement as to reopening may, it is hoped, be made in the British Press in March, 1934.

Notices

The congratulations of the Society are offered to Dr. Henry G. Farmer, M.A., Ph.D., on the award of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in Oriental Study. He has already received a Carnegie Research Fellowship and the Weir Memorial Prize. He was elected President of the Commission of MSS. at the Congress of Arabian Music convened in 1932 by the Egyptian Government.

The congratulations of the Society are also offered to Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E., I.A., who has been awarded a Leverhulme Travelling Fellowship for "Research into Central Asian Languages". This will enable him to complete his study of the Burushaski language.

Members and Subscribing Libraries are reminded that, by **Rule 24**, all Annual Subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

To avoid unnecessary expense to the Society in the form of payment of surcharges on insufficiently stamped letters, post-cards, and packets received from India, Members and Correspondents are reminded that the postal rates as from that country to England have been increased as shown below :

	Letters			*Printed*
		For each		*Papers*
	For 1 *oz.*	*additional oz.*	*Postcards*	*for each* 2 *oz.*
Old rate .	2a.	1a. 6p.	1a. 6p.	6p.
New rate .	2a. 6p.	2a.	2a.	9p.

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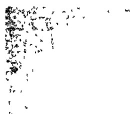
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INDEX FOR 1933

A

B

C

F

G

H

L

M

NOTICES OF BOOKS :

NOTICES OF BOOKS :

NOTICES OF BOOKS:

NOTICES OF BOOKS:

NOTICES OF BOOKS :

NOTICES OF BOOKS:

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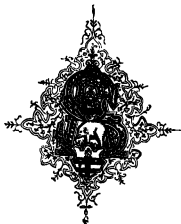
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CONTENTS FOR 1933

ARTICLES

PAGE

PAGE

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PAGE

PAGE

Catalogues of Islamic MSS.

PAGE

OBITUARY NOTICES

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1933

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